m. F. Buckley Jr. asks:
ID CHURCHILL FAIL THE WEST?

50 CENTS
CDC

FEBRUARY 23, 1965

NATIONAL REVIEW

A Journal of Fact and Opinion

13 Bitter Attacks on the SUPREME COURT

BY JUSTICES BLACK, CLARK, FRANKFURTER, HARLAN, STEWART, WHITE and WHITTAKER

Also In This Issue:

O'CONNELL ON THE PRO-CATHOLIC MENACE ♦ WILLS ON TREASON ♦
COSTE ON YALTA TWENTY YEARS AFTER ♦ HAZLITT ON BASTIAT ♦
KENNER ON SPACE ♦ DAVENPORT ON DESPAIR ♦ KIRK ON APARTHEID

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHO ever heard of a nylon yarn that makes hosiery fit perfectly at ankle, knee and calf?

(Nobody. So we produced one... **AGILON**®)
STRETCH NYLON YARN

We stretched our imagination into tomorrow, to an all-new kind of hosiery yarn that can really do something for legs, whatever the size or shape. The result was Agilon stretch nylon yarn. Hosiery of Agilon stretch nylon yarn cling so closely at ankle, knee and calf that wrinkles and sags don't happen, and there's no twisting or binding. Look for Agilon stretch nylon yarn in your favorite hosiery brand at your favorite store. It's typical of the years-ahead developments that are the everyday work at Milliken Research.

Behind the label...
America's most extensive Textile Research
and Development Organization...
Deering Milliken Research Corporation

Milliken

®REGISTERED TRADEMARK OF DEERING MILLIKEN RESEARCH CORPORATION.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

EDITOR: Wm. F. Buckley Jr.
PUBLISHER: William A. Rusher

EDITORS

James Burnham, Frank S. Meyer,
William F. Rickenbacker
MANAGING EDITOR: Priscilla L. Buckley
ASSISTANT PUBLISHER: J. P. McFadden
PRODUCTION EDITOR: Dorothy Rea

ASSOCIATES

Arlene Croce, M. Stanton Evans, Will Herberg,
Hugh Kenner, James Jackson Kilpatrick, Ralph de Toledano,
Timothy J. Wheeler, Garry Wills
EDITORIAL ASSISTANT: Linda Lewis

CONTRIBUTORS

C. D. Batchelor, L. Brent Bozell, Colm Brogan,
John Chamberlain, Frank Chodorov, D. G. M. Coxe, Guy Davenport,
Joan Didion, W. H. von Dreele, Neal Freeman, Aloise B. Heath,
John D. Kreuttner, Suzanne La Follette, Sir Arnold Lunn,
J. B. Matthews, Vincent Miller, Thomas Molnar, Gerhart Niemeyer,
Morrie Ryskind, Frederick D. Wilhelmsen

FOREIGN CONTRIBUTORS

London: Anthony Lejeune
Munich: E. v. Kuehnelt-Leddihn
African Affairs: Elspeth Huxley
At Large: William S. Schlamm

ART DIRECTOR: James W. O'Bryan
PROMOTION MANAGER: Patrick J. Gorman
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Joan A. Rasanen
ADVERTISING DIRECTOR: Howard W. Long Jr.

CONTENTS *FEBRUARY 23, 1965 VOL. XVII, NO. 8*

THE WEEK 135

ARTICLES, DEPARTMENTS

To the Editor 130
Yalta Twenty Years After .....*Brutus Coste* 142
The Warren Court by the Warren Court
Paul C. Bartholomew 143
On the Southern Flank .....*James Burnham* 146
Churchill in the Balance .....*Wm. F. Buckley Jr.* 147
The Higher Learning for the Bantu ..*Russell Kirk* 150
Gnostics on a Train .....*Marvin R. O'Connell* 151
Trans-O-Gram 167
For the Record 168

BOOKS, ARTS, MANNERS

Bastiat for '65 .....*Henry Hazlitt* 154
A Plague of Despair .....*Guy Davenport* 155
The Face of Treason .....*Garry Wills* 156
The Invention of Space .....*Hugh Kenner* 160
Books in Brief 162

NATIONAL REVIEW is published weekly by National Review, Inc., at 45 Gracey St., Meriden, Conn. (second class postage paid at Meriden, Conn.). © National Review, Inc. 1965. All manuscripts, letters, subscription orders, changes of address and undeliverable copies should be sent to:

EDITORIAL AND CIRCULATION OFFICES
National Review
150 East 35th St., New York, N.Y. 10016
Telephone ORegon 9-7330

RATES: $16.00 a year ($9.00 for the 36-page issues, and $7.00 for the 8-page issues published on the alternate weeks). In all cases, add $1.00 for Canada, $2.00 for other foreign subscriptions.

The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better, a stamped, self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

In This Issue . . .

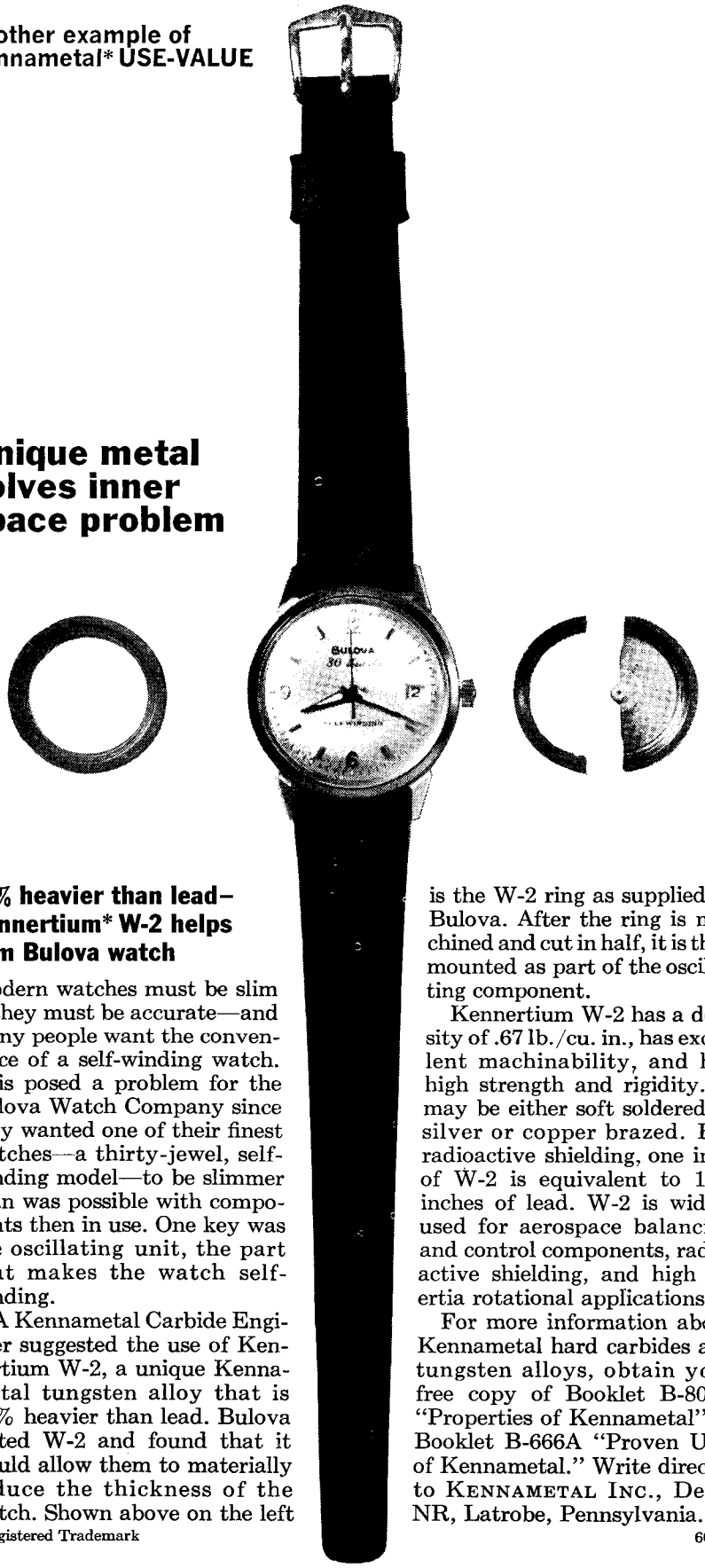
➔ On February 11 we might have celebrated, had we felt like it, a terrible anniversary: the 20th anniversary of the signing of the Yalta agreement, whereby Messrs. Churchill and Roosevelt delivered half of Europe to Josef Stalin in return for about thirty minutes of Russian campaigning in the Pacific Theater. One of the millions of victims of that agreement, Mr. **Brutus Coste,** writes about it here from the vantage point of time, probing the scar tissue of a wound twenty years not healed. A leading citizen of Rumania before his exile, Mr. Coste is Secretary of the Assembly of Captive European Nations. What he says may be taken, *ex officio,* as a statement by and in behalf of the eastern European nations that will some day be free again. . . . With a wry and potent humor Prof. **Paul C. Bartholomew** (Political Science, Notre Dame) furnishes the Warren Court with a do-it-yourself impeachment kit, containing the recent dissents of seven of the nine Justices. . . . Prof. **Marvin R. O'Connell** (History, College of St. Thomas) has met and transcended the Gnostics.

➔ **Wm. F. Buckley Jr.** acknowledges the grand scale of Churchill's many victories, which may not even then offset that single stupefying blunder, his complicity in the dealing at Yalta. Was Churchill merely going along with the times, following suggestions from higher up—and is that excuse any more persuasive for Churchill than it was for Schacht? . . . **James Burnham** has studied the war maps and the news reports and drawn two lessons: that upstart militarists in Gilbert & Sullivan uniforms can grow, as Sukarno, into substantial military power; and that Sukarno is in command of *their* southern flank in Southeast Asia. . . . **Russell Kirk** likes very much of what he sees in South Africa's system of education for the Bantu.

➔ Every friend of liberty knows Frédéric Bastiat's *The Law,* but the bulk of his work has until now been hard to lay your hands on, in French or English. Now, as **Henry Hazlitt** sees it, let us therefore rejoice, because Van Nostrand has brought out three newly edited volumes of Bastiat's glittering prose, the best, as even his enemies admit, the best economic journalism of all time. . . . **Guy Davenport** says what he thinks about three new novels, and what he thinks is that Doris Lessing is either a pathological gossip or a majority shareholder in a paper mill, that H. E. F. Donahue writes in code, and that Angus Wilson is a real novelist. . . . **Garry Wills** finds much to welcome in Rebecca West's *The New Meaning of Treason,* despite the formal flaw that allows a British idiot and a Klaus Fuchs to be treated as sufferers of the same disease. . . . And **Hugh Kenner,** reviewing Tome The Second of Siegfried Giedion's profound study of architecture, attempts to reorganize our spatial concepts so that we can see that Rockefeller Center isn't simply stupid. It's a positive danger, because it's trying to become a religion. ➔

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Another example of
Kennametal* USE-VALUE



Unique metal solves inner space problem

62% heavier than lead—Kennertium* W-2 helps slim Bulova watch

Modern watches must be slim—they must be accurate—and many people want the convenience of a self-winding watch. This posed a problem for the Bulova Watch Company since they wanted one of their finest watches—a thirty-jewel, self-winding model—to be slimmer than was possible with components then in use. One key was the oscillating unit, the part that makes the watch self-winding.

A Kennametal Carbide Engineer suggested the use of Kennertium W-2, a unique Kennametal tungsten alloy that is 62% heavier than lead. Bulova tested W-2 and found that it would allow them to materially reduce the thickness of the watch. Shown above on the left is the W-2 ring as supplied to Bulova. After the ring is machined and cut in half, it is then mounted as part of the oscillating component.

Kennertium W-2 has a density of .67 lb./cu. in., has excellent machinability, and has high strength and rigidity. It may be either soft soldered or silver or copper brazed. For radioactive shielding, one inch of W-2 is equivalent to 1.62 inches of lead. W-2 is widely used for aerospace balancing and control components, radioactive shielding, and high inertia rotational applications.

For more information about Kennametal hard carbides and tungsten alloys, obtain your free copy of Booklet B-800A "Properties of Kennametal" or Booklet B-666A "Proven Uses of Kennametal." Write directly to KENNAMETAL INC., Dept. NR, Latrobe, Pennsylvania.

*Registered Trademark

60016

KENNAMETAL Inc.

TO THE EDITOR

The Same

Isn't the dry-footed Mr. Kaunda of p. 89, Feb. 9 issue, the same as the "sober and moderate" Kenneth Kuanda of p. 95, same issue, and aren't they both from Zambia, formerly Northern Rhodesia when federated with Southern Rhodesia (now just plain Rhodesia) and Nyasaland (now Malawi, not to be confused with Mali)? Or did I fold that roadmap wrong again?

Tanzania VAVA VOLTA

Americans in the Philippines

There is an important difference between the statement appearing in your Jan. 26 issue, to the effect that "in the 1965 Philippine presidential election, it is certain that the continuing U.S. use of bases in the Philippines will be made an issue," and that appearing in the source cited *(U.S. News and World Report)*, which stated that "the great danger now is that the bases agreement will become a hot issue in the 1965 Philippine presidential election."

Certain aspects of the bases agreement have long been a source or irritation, large and small. These have included such items as U.S. civil jurisdiction over Filipinos living in villages within base boundaries; retention by the U.S. of exclusive control over large areas not used for military purposes; and the refusal of the U.S. to enter into a "status of forces" type arrangement with the Philippines.

These are the sort of bases agreement issues which may be played up by those interested in creating anti-American sentiment in the Philippines, and which could well be aired in the coming presidential campaign. It is highly unlikely, however, that either presidential candidate would advocate the abandonment of the bases by American military forces.

Sharon, Conn. JAMES LANE BUCKLEY

Dos Passos

Since *Occasions and Protests* is becoming some kind of *cause*, to which you are contributing mightily [Jan. 26], may I, who reviewed the book for your journal [Dec. 1], put my oar in?

I fully agree that the review by

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Your Opportunity of a Lifetime... TO OWN

THE GREATEST BOOKS EVER WRITTEN BY THE GREATEST AUTHORS WHO EVER LIVED

...in Handsome Matched Volumes

THESE 2 GREAT WORKS

Both for only $1.00

(REG. PRICE $5.78)

To introduce you to the famous one-volume editions of "THE GIANTS OF LITERATURE"

Now Ready

YOUR FIRST 2 VOLUMES

The Complete Works of SHAKESPEARE

A giant treasure-chest! Every single one of Shakespeare's 37 plays... all his comedies, tragedies, and historical dramas. Plus *all* his poems and sonnets—*complete* in one beautiful 1300-page volume!

The Works of KIPLING

This volume is actually EIGHT books in one. It contains one complete novel and other exciting stories. 74 great ballads and verses that all the world knows and loves — including the incomparable *Gunga Din!*

How is this amazing offer of BOTH volumes for ONLY $1.00 possible? First, because of the great demand, a huge printing has been ordered, cutting costs to the bone. Also, this offer is made DIRECT to readers, saving many distribution costs. These savings are passed on to you!

Yes! The Famous One-Volume Editions of "THE GIANTS of LITERATURE"

The Opportunity of a Lifetime to Own Handsome, Luxuriously Bound Books Which You Will Treasure and Your Friends Will Envy

HERE is your opportunity to own strikingly beautiful volumes of the greatest authors of all time—AT AN AMAZINGLY LOW PRICE!

Picture these magnificent books in your own home. Your family will enjoy reading them. Your friends will admire them and envy you for possessing them. Your children will gain an undeniable advantage by having them always at hand. Here are the most celebrated authors in all the world, in superb lifetime volumes that bring into your home the most fascinating, thrilling reading ever known. The partial contents that follow give you only an inkling of the treasures they hold:

SHAKESPEARE'S complete works. } (Described
KIPLING'S works. } above.)

HUGO. 36 Complete Works, including Hunchback of Notre Dame, A Woman of the Streets, The Souls, etc.

STEVENSON. 39 adventurous novels, stories, poems. Treasure Island, Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, Kidnapped, etc., all complete.

TOLSTOI. 27 breathless novels, stories; Anna Karenina, Kreutzer Sonata, The Cossacks, Love, etc.

POE. 91 tales, poems, essays. The Raven, Gold Bug, Murders in the Rue Morgue, etc.

IBSEN. A Doll's House, Ghosts, Hedda Gabler, Peer Gynt, and others.

CONAN DOYLE. Best of Sherlock Holmes — Sign of the Four, Red-Headed League, others.

EMERSON. 112 Essays and Poems, plus Biographical Studies, Conduct of Life, etc.

WILDE. Picture of Dorian Gray, Lady Windermere's Fan, Ballad of Reading Gaol. 91 tales, essays and plays.

H. RIDER HAGGARD. 4 novels: She, King Solomon's Mines, Allan Quatermain, Cleopatra.

HAWTHORNE. 2 Complete Novels and 37 tales by the great American author — Scarlet Letter, House of Seven Gables, etc.

CHEKHOV. 52 short stories; Cherry Orchard, Sea Gull, Three Sisters; plus a complete novel.

Other one-volume editions in preparation are: CELLINI; ROBERT BROWNING; LONGFELLOW; TENNYSON; BYRON; BRET HARTE; DOSTOEVSKY; JONATHAN SWIFT; BOSWELL; JANE AUSTEN; SAMUEL PEPYS; WASHINGTON IRVING; CAESAR; and many more by the Greatest Authors who ever lived!

HOW TO GET YOUR BOOKS

Send no money! Just mail READER'S RESERVATION CERTIFICATE. This entitles you to examine the first two volumes in the "Giants of Literature" Library, THE COMPLETE WORKS OF SHAKESPEARE and THE WORKS OF KIPLING. With them will come a special reader's invoice of $1.00 as full payment for both volumes (plus a few cents mailing charges) and instructions on how to get your other volumes for only $2.89 each. If not fully satisfied you may return any book; you may cancel your reservation at any time.

SEND NO MONEY

There are positively no other charges, and you need send no money with your Reservation. Right now, send the RESERVATION CERTIFICATE. First come, first served. DO IT NOW, before you mislay this page! BLACK'S READERS SERVICE CO., Roslyn, L.I., New York 11576.

MAIL RESERVATION FORM NOW!

Don't Put It Off and Lose Out on This Opportunity

READERS' RESERVATION CERTIFICATE

BLACK'S READERS SERVICE CO. ET
Roslyn, L.I., New York 11576

Please reserve in my name the beautifully-bound volumes of the Giants of Literature Series. Send me at once the first two books, SHAKESPEARE and KIPLING. I enclose NO MONEY IN ADVANCE; within a week after receiving my books, I will either return them and owe nothing, or keep them for the special introductory price of ONLY $1.00 (plus a few cents mailing charges) for BOTH fine volumes. I will then be entitled to receive additional De Luxe volumes as they come from the press, on approval, for only $2.89 each (plus a few cents mailing charges). I am to receive advance descriptions of all future volumes. I need never send money in advance; if not completely satisfied, I may return any book within one week of receipt. I may cancel my reservation at any time. *(Books shipped in U.S.A. only.)*

Print Name.....

Address.....

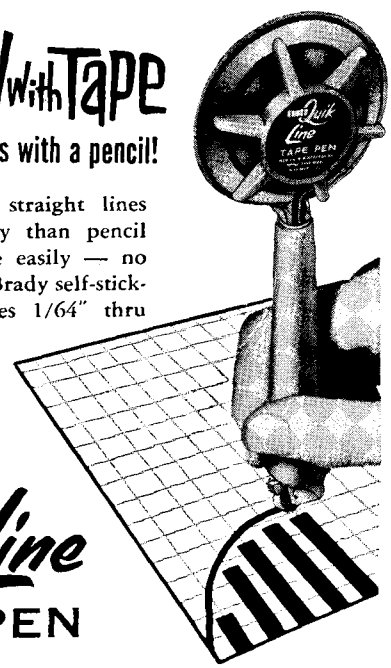
City & State.....Zone.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"The expansion of government to its present scale has politicalized virtually all economic life. The wages being paid most workers today are political wages, reflecting political pressures rather than anything that might be considered the normal workings of supply and demand. The prices farmers receive are political prices. The profits business is earning are political profits. The savings people hold have become political savings, since their real value is subject to abrupt depreciation by political decisions."

Samuel Lubell
"The Future of American Politics"

NOW DRAW WITH TAPE
As easily as with a pencil!



Draw circles, curves, straight lines faster, more accurately than pencil or ink. Changes made easily — no clean up. Pen applies Brady self-sticking precision slit tapes 1/64" thru 1/4" wide. Change colors or tape widths in 20 seconds. $19.75 for this precision instrument.

BRADY Quik Line TAPE PEN

Recommended for PRINTED CIRCUIT MASTER • CHARTS AND GRAPHS • OFFICE AND PLANT LAYOUTS • MAPS • DRAWINGS • ARTWORK • PHOTO NEGATIVES • TECHNICAL ILLUSTRATIONS • DISPLAY WORK

Write for illustrated catalog, stock tapes and prices:

1225

1914-1964 50th BRADY ANNIVERSARY

W. H. BRADY CO.

719 W. Glendale Avenue • Milwaukee 9, Wisconsin

Manufacturers of Quality Pressure Sensitive Industrial Tape Products, Self Bonding Nameplates, Automatic Machines for Dispensing Labels, Nameplates, Masks and Tape. Est. 1914

John Braine in the *New York Times* is off the mark. As I read it I began to wonder when he was going to talk about the book at hand, and stop talking about his own critical posture *vis-à-vis* Dos Passos' *novels*. But of course Braine's was a self-revelatory essay, *occasioned* by Dos Passos' book, but not a review at all or very relevant to the book. Whether this is part of a Liberal conspiracy I could not say, but I can say that it is quite silly to worry about it. Dos Passos surely can defend himself, and he knows as well as Braine does or ought to that an ideological attack, even if he is the victim, means nothing at all to the value or the virtue of his book, or to his position as a writer.

Having said so much, I can now ask why those who fancy Dos Passos their political or ideological ally should come perilously close to treating their man's book as a weapon in the crusade, and not as a book, and thus, in effect, fall into the same fallacy as their opponents. It seems to me that a discussion such as I offered in my review is fair to this book in particular and fair to the province of books in general.

Atlanta, Ga. D. J. STEWART

Quite so. But Mr. Stewart's review was not published in the Times, *and probably wouldn't have been—which is our point.* —ED.

Wordsmanship

Lines Penned After Coming Upon the Word *Zeitgeist* Three Times in the Jan. 26 issue of NATIONAL REVIEW:

Charisma's growing cheap, I feel;
The term's no longer right-priced.
The old words lose their snob-appeal,
And now they strike with *Zeitgeist*!

New York, N.Y. MABEL WOOD

Van den Haag Fan

Cheers for Ernest van den Haag's "The UN's Idiot Policy in the Congo" [Jan. 26]. Even the revolting acts of torture and cannibalism perpetrated by the Congolese Reds have apparently had no effect on the conscience of world opinion.

I also am enjoying the rare objectivity of Mr. van den Haag on the question of intelligence, etc. [Dec. 1, Feb. 9] . . . I relished his observation that there are other criteria besides IQ in measuring a man's worth. In fact, Bertrand Russell makes me won-

(Continued on p. 165)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

No Annual Fee • Lowest Prices Anywhere • No Minimum Purchase

Record Club of America saves you $1.50 or more on any LP... on every record made! Join now!

COMPARE . . . and you will join the Record Club of America: the original (and by far the largest) club offering over 30,000 different LP's, including every album listed in the Schwann Catalog, not just at a discount but at *dealer cost!* You are never limited to club selections . . . your savings are never dependent on a record dealer's stock. Best of all . . . Record Club of America offers these savings *without gimmicks* . . . there's no annual membership charge . . . no minimum purchase required . . . all records guaranteed factory new . . . fast "same day" processing of your orders . . . maximum convenience . . . Record Club of America is as close as your mail box!

Lifetime membership in the Record Club of America gives you more! The advantages of membership only *begin* with your guaranteed saving of 38% on any LP or any album! You receive the Club's magazine, "Disc.", regularly, at no extra charge. Every edition keeps you up to date on all latest releases and lists many special offerings where you save as much as 70%! Your personal copy of the Schwann Catalog is free! And you can even save on the low cost of lifetime membership!

Give yourself a gift!

At the time you join Record Club of America, you are entitled to buy gift memberships at half-price. Many people get together with a friend, split the cost of a basic membership ($5.00) and a gift membership ($2.50), bringing the cost for each down to only $3.75! Three or more people together can save even more!

Stop paying high prices . . .
Join the Record Club of America
. . . Mail this coupon today!

© 1965 Record Club of America, Inc.

Select from more than 300 manufacturers . . . every label in the U.S. . . . even foreign labels!

CAPITOL	RCA VICTOR	DEUTSCHE-
COLUMBIA	ANGEL	GRAMMOPHON
LONDON	CAEDMON	WESTMINSTER
DECCA	VERVE	ABC PARAMOUNT
VANGUARD	ALL OTHERS!	

More than 200,000 members enjoy savings like these . . . including many leading schools and libraries . . . on any selection they want . . . monaural or stereo:

$5.98 LP's never cost more than $3.71 . . . those listed at $4.98 are priced at $3.09! Record Club of America's standard discounts bring $3.98 LP's down to $2.47; those listed at $2.98 down to only $1.85! Regular specials are even more exciting . . . typical examples: $3.98 Capitol Best Sellers—$1.57; $5.98 Vox and RCA Victor Classical Albums—$1.77; $5.98 and $4.98 Atlantic, Verve, Command and Audio Fidelity Albums—$1.99.

858

Record Club of America
1285 East Princess Street
York, Pennsylvania 17405

Gentlemen:

- Enclosed please find my check or money order covering life membership in the Record Club of America. I understand that I am under no obligation to make purchases, but that when I do, all will be at CLUB SAVINGS.
- Please send me a FREE copy of the Schwann Record Catalog, and place my name on the list to receive your magazine, "Disc."
- Also, send GIFT MEMBERSHIPS to the persons listed on the attached sheet.

PERSONAL LIFETIME MEMBERSHIP: $5.00
GIFT LIFETIME MEMBERSHIPS: $2.50 EACH

Amount enclosed $_____ Check ( ) Money Order ( )

Name_____

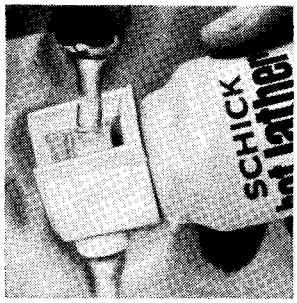
Address_____

City_____

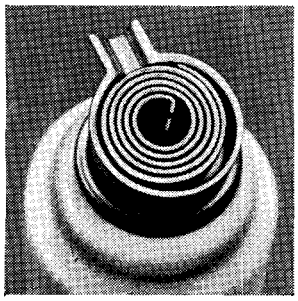
State_____ Zip Code_____
(please print)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

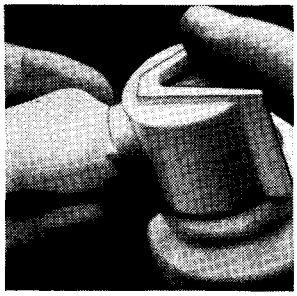
It's true! It works!



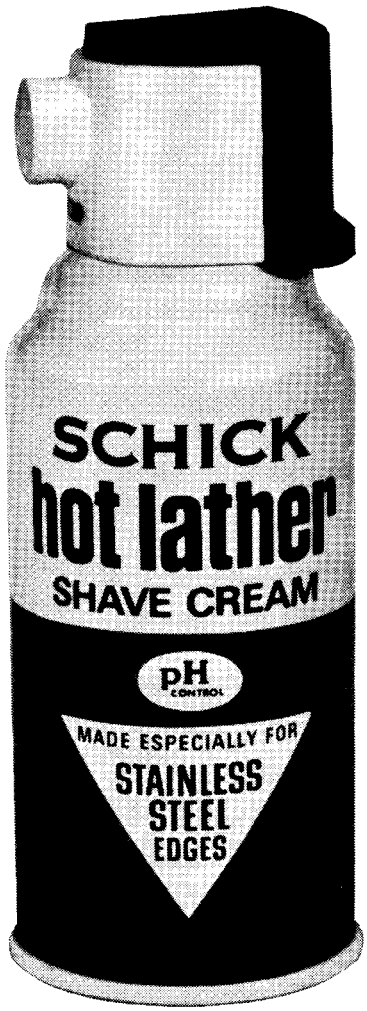
Hold top under hot running water.



Exclusive heat coil picks up heat.



Push the button and out comes



New Schick hot lather

–barbershop style!

Made by the new-thinking folks at Schick who brought you America's number one stainless steel blade with the incredible Schick Stainless Krona Edge. Fits all double edge razors perfectly.

© 1965 Schick Safety Razor Co., Div. of Eversharp, Inc.
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The WEEK

● From a story in the *New York Times*, February 6: "The violence erupted at 5:20 PM when members of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee formed a flying wedge." But Salvation Army shock troops quickly beat them back and the Quakers tore their throats out.

● "Does not the name of 'John' stand out pre-eminently in the realm of saints — St. John the Apostle, John the Divine, John the Baptist, John Chrysostom, John Bosco, and the Blessed John Fisher? In addition to these, there were 23 popes in the Roman Catholic religion who chose the name of John, more than any other name. So, if we jump the gun and proclaim a saint of our own, we cannot believe that we are committing heresy." Who are these gun-jumping Johanneans? They are the 300,000 readers of *Butcher Workman*, monthly magazine of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America. Time is short, they say — as one, with one voice, in the January editorial. The Church is slow, they say. And they cannot wait. "Hail to the world, our new saint," they say (we continue to quote directly), "Saint John Kennedy."

● The State of Indiana has repealed its right-to-work law, passed in 1957 during a flurry of courage, which eight years of union militancy, political demagogy, and great reserves of business gutlessness finally wore down. The Democratic sweep last November made it official, and there was needed only the formality of running the repeal through the legislature. It may prove to have been academic, if LBJ succeeds in getting Congress to repeal Section 14-B of the Taft-Hartley Law (granting local option on right-to-work laws to the individual states), but it is a sad symbol, coming from a state that fancies itself a bastion of conservatism — a political doctrine fashioned on the rights of the individual.

● You will be interested to know that the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, out of the Fund for the Republic, out of the Ford Foundation, is holding this month, during this "International Cooperation Year," "an international convocation to examine the requirements for Peace," featuring "The Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey, His Excellency U Thant, The Honorable Willy Brandt, Sir Muhammad Zafrulla Khan, Miss Barbara Ward and other international political and intellectual leaders," and some "high-level Soviet representation," perhaps "very high level," to discuss *Pacem in Terris* ("Peace on Earth"), the encyclical of the late Pope John XXIII of the Roman Catholic Church, which seems, in the words of Robert M. Hutchins, President of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, to have been "welcomed by men and women of every belief—orthodox, Protestants, Hindus, agnostics, humanists, Communists," the views of all of whom, regardless of how they feel about Pope John's Church, are needed "if the world is to have a chance of survival." We can't make the meeting, but we'll pray for it.

● Anent which, the United Nations Office of Public Information has issued its own advertisement for the *Pacem in Terris* convocation in the form of "Press Release ICY/22" — mostly a roster of the VIPs "expected to participate." The convocation's opening ceremonies will take place (why, nobody knows) in the UN General Assembly Hall. A *Pacem in Terris* motif has been appearing on magazine covers from the *Saturday Review* to the WBAI program highlights; in fact, no self-respecting journal of the Left has neglected to strew rose petals before the forthcoming *Gôtterversammlung*. Sounds like a venture in triviality.

● The Business-Industry Political Action Committee (BIPAC) announces plans for the creation of Businessmen's Political Committees in each of the fifty states, whose job it will be to direct and coordinate community business support for favored congressional candidates during campaigns, and to conduct evangelical work among the voters between elections. Funds for both Political Action and Political Education will be provided entirely from dues of BIPAC members who, with their wives, plus the thousands of company trainees and *their* wives, could provide the constructive counterpart business has long been needing to Labor's political army, the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education (COPE).

● The dream of preserving international peace through a world forum where men of reason and good will could meet to iron out international differences rationally and without recourse to arms got another kick in the chops last week when Mr. U Thant concluded that the deadlock in the United Nations over the voting rights of UN members in arrears was a question about which men of R & GW could not conceivably agree until, say, next autumn, until when the UN ought to adjourn, said Mr. U Thant, dreamily.

● One major cause of what the *New York Times* has called "growing suspicion and friction between President Johnson and the press" is this: that the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Johnsonian mixture of guile, arrogance and ineptness has made the normally cooperative press, including the *New York Times,* look silly for its pains. A recent, small, but highly characteristic example will suffice. From the *Times,* Feb. 6: "The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. . . . announced that he would fly to Washington Monday to ask President Johnson and Congress for legislation . . . " *Times,* Feb. 7: White House Press Secretary George Reedy "reported that Dr. King had been advised to consult instead with Justice Department officials. . . . A department spokesman said later that arrangements were being made for the Atlanta civil rights leader to meet Monday with Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, Acting Attorney General." *Times,* Feb. 10 (dateline Feb. 9, a Tuesday): "President Johnson and the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. discussed today broad new guarantees. . . ." The *Times* offered no explanation of its earlier false report. Of course any paper that elects to play the fool for a master deserves no pity. But if the paper seriously strives to find and print the hard truths, it should not be surprised to encounter friction at the White House.

● OOLONG? O LORD DEPT. With a flourish of crumpets, there was established last week the U.S. Board of Tea Experts — seven tea-tasters testing teas to set minimum quality standards for the Food and Drug Administration. A pity nobody thought to taste Boston harbor. . .

● Indonesia's ever-growing recklessness (see James Burnham in this issue) has called up a counterforce that has begun to take on real weight. The latest movement of Australian forces into Malaysia, combined with Australia's swiftly rising military effort at home, points up the strategic meaning of making a stand in Southeast Asia. And it will be, if it must, no mean stand on the part of the Commonwealth: Britain already has 50,000 crack troops in the theater, principally in the Sarawak-North Borneo field, and three-fourths of her Navy.

● Pope Paul VI has intimated, in an audience granted to a thousand members of the Civic Committees (anti-Communist parish groups founded during the bitter 1947 election campaign), that the fourth and final session of the Vatican Council will deal with various aspects of the Communist problem. Meanwhile, he admonished members of the Committees that Italian Catholics should be guided by the letter published by the Italian bishops before the administrative elections of 1963—a fire-eater that denounced "all forms of Communism." All of which would appear utterly routine in the long-standing official war against all forms of Communism by the Catholic Church — except that much has been made by the Left of several ambiguities of Pope John XXIII in his encyclicals (in which he rather conspicuously omitted any mention of Communism); of his quite obvious endorsement of the *apertura a sinistra;* of his unfortunate reception of Adzhubei, Khrushchev's son-in-law; and—of primary symbolic interest — of his failure to receive, during the years of his stewardship, the self-same representatives of the Civic Committees, received so enthusiastically last week by Pope John's successor.

● This week's solution to the Vietnam puzzle: defoliate the State Department.

A Problem of Communication

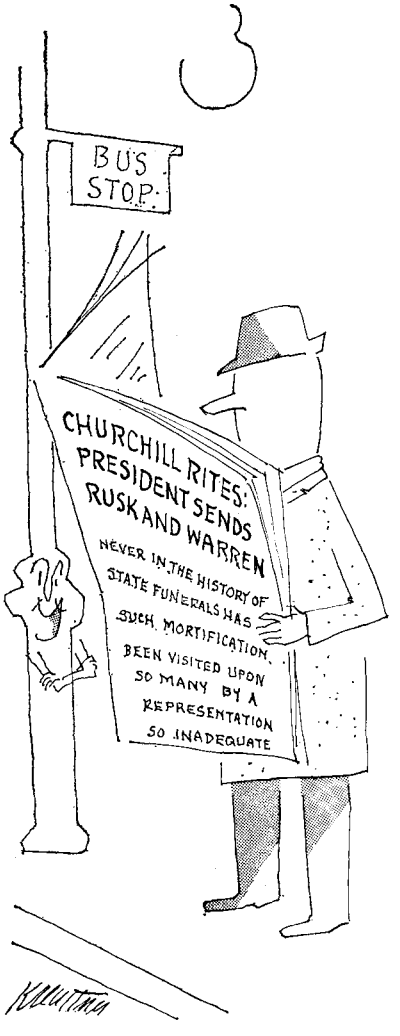
If Barry Goldwater permitted himself a wry smile as the news came through about the air strikes against North Vietnamese installations at the border towns of Donghoi and Vinhlinh, he may surely be forgiven. How many of his countrymen will choose to recall the vilification heaped on his awkwardly honest head when he insisted, during the campaign, that such things would have to be? But that smile, if it fleetingly appeared, would have vanished instantly; for Goldwater is one of those who know, and who have for a long time known, the seriousness of what has been going on in Southeast Asia. And he knew, most certainly, when he learned of the air strikes, that his country — fellow citizens and government alike — was only beginning to comprehend how very serious it is.

Exactly what do these air strikes by U.S. planes signify? Do they mean that President Johnson has come, finally, to a decision about our course in Southeast Asia? Is the war now being widely enlarged, "escalated" as the modish phrase is? It is not necessary to have access to NSC secrets to conclude: No, the fundamental decision, the strategic decision, has not yet been made. As for escalation, this is so far only minor in degree, of what may be called a tactical kind. These air strikes, indeed, like the Gulf of Tonkin episode last summer, can most readily be understood not as military actions but as attempts at communication, as a method of negotiating. The use of limited military moves — shows of force, raids, cease-fires, mobilization, even considerable campaigns — as ways of negotiating has many precedents, is in fact routine. And this seems to be what the President has had in mind. He was trying to say to the Vietcong's masters: "We are not just going to sit and take whatever you dish out. If you hurt us badly, you are going to get hurt in return." He added, in that rough dialect the planes speak: "We are not going to let you push us out. Not *push* us.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

However, if you are willing to agree to some sort of arrangement that doesn't look *too* bad for our side, you won't find us unreasonable. We won't be pushed, I repeat, but asked in the right way we would be willing to pack up and go."

The first official statement, like later statements by the President, Secretary McNamara and Presidential aide McGeorge Bundy, stressed that the "response" was "carefully limited," that "as the U.S. government has frequently stated, we seek no wider war." The character of the operations themselves bears out this protestation, and confirms the finding that they were in reality more political than military acts. Even if the objective were merely to shut off, as far as possible, all communication between the Vietcong and its outside sources of supply, training and reinforcement, sporadic, one-shot raids like these and the others being run over Laos could have little significant effect. As Hanson Baldwin immediately pointed out, such "air interdiction, to be even partly effective, must be continuous and heavy." If the objective were to put really heavy pressure on the North Vietnamese, and indirectly on Peking and Moscow, the targets would include the major North Vietnamese military bases, airfields, factories and harbors, plus a naval blockade of the North Vietnamese and Cambodian coasts.


BUS STOP
CHURCHILL RITES: PRESIDENT SENDS RUSK AND WARREN
NEVER IN THE HISTORY OF STATE FUNERALS HAS SUCH MORTIFICATION BEEN VISITED UPON SO MANY BY A REPRESENTATION SO INADEQUATE

"Heard the wrap-up on Consensus? In War—Vacillation, in Peace—Disarmament, in Defeat—Complaisance, in Victory—Capitulation."

The strategic issue, the fundamental issue, is simply this: does American and Western power stay in the Southeast Asian region, or get out? And as to that, it is apparent that no decision has been taken in Washington. From the standpoint of the strategic issue, the present war in South Vietnam, whether or not tactically extended a bit beyond the borders, is only an episode. If the decision is to stay, then the eyes of our soldiers will have to be raised not simply to the border crossing points plus, perhaps, Hanoi and Phnompenh, but to the limits of the entire theater — to Jakarta, Singapore, Bangkok, Manila, Taiwan, and, too, to South China and on to Lopnor and the other lairs of China's nuclear bomb. The making of the positive decision would be quickly revealed by the transformation of posture and operations over the lands and waters of that vast theater. Let us add that it gets very late in the day for a positive decision: were it made two years ago, the Vietnamese situation need never have reached its present almost catastrophic stage.

If a decision is not made deliberately, it will come by default in any case, and that is much the worse way for us. Conceivably the drift could be into a full-scale war that no one intended. More likely it would be in the opposite direction: a further collapse, military and political, in South Vietnam, an anti-American government in Saigon repudiating our help, a withdrawal under the most wounding conditions. If we are to get out, then let's get out fast. It's not worth much more of our soldiers' blood to get a face-saving formula to cover a capitulation.

And in This Corner...

In the period since November 1964, conservatives have been properly concentrating on a maneuver that is called, in army lingo, "fall back and regroup." The falling back has been achieved with great help from external circumstances; to wit, there was no other choice; but the regrouping has been delayed by the absence of an "organizing principle," whether it be person or program. And on all of this we have reported from time to time.

But it's well to remember that The Other Guys exist and are taking nothing for granted. In politics it is now 1966; therefore, said The Gang, poor Mr. Dean Burch must go. In GOP politics it is, any year, Emile-Coué time for Liberals; hence the for-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

mation of "progressive" Republicans around this or that organizing principle, and the federation of the various groups under the rather imperialistic banner, "Council of Republican Organizations."

Without violating any public health ordinances one can mention that the member groups of this federation include the Trumbull Society, the National Negro Republican Assembly, the National Council of Republican Workshops, the Ripon Society, the Republicans for Progress, the Republican Citizens Committee, Republican Advance, the Committee for Forward-Looking Republicans, the Committee of '68 . . .

Most of these are as feathery as frost on a pumpkin, but two or three might be worth remembering. Republican Advance, now Yale-based, and the Ripon Society, with headquarters at Harvard and more cash, brains, and energy, would both like to play ADA to the GOP. The Republican Citizens Committee, formed in 1962, is the wide-angle screen on which the Critical Issues Council projects its documentaries.

The Gang, in short, are more than a clutch of left-wing bacteria who find the Republican Party a congenial environment. They're a power that deserves respect, and they're even now hell-bent towards '66 and even '68 as they get organized, over there in their corner.

De Gaulle's New Triad

It is curious that so few statesmen of our century have chosen to follow a wonderfully effective rule displayed in the careers of Charles de Gaulle and Josef Stalin: to keep one's mouth mostly shut, confining public statements of policy to two or three occasions yearly. Their rarity gives each of the words then uttered a jewel-like fascination; the commentators pore over them like diamond merchants.

In interpreting each successive declaration of de Gaulle, as once of Stalin (for whom, as a political leader, de Gaulle has expressed his admiration), it is always necessary to set it within the framework of the premises which it presupposes and the objectives which it is designed to further. In the case of de Gaulle's declaration on February 4 of this year, these are principally the following:

1) The nuclear stalemate between Soviet Russia and the United States has removed the danger of general war.

2) The ideological issue of Communism is of no importance.

3) The domination of world affairs by Russia and the United States in a bipolar power structure is no longer necessary or tolerable.

4) Continental Europe ("from the Atlantic to the Urals") now possesses the potential for breaking out of the bipolar structure and constituting itself an autonomous force.

5) This Continental Europe should do, under the leadership of France.

6) In pursuing this objective, Europe under France's leadership may and should exploit relations with Communist China and the third-world nations to aid in breaking loose from the Anglo-Saxon Atlantic tie and in integrating Germany, ultimately Russia also, into French-led Europe.

Given this framework, the logic of de Gaulle's delicate rapprochement with West Germany, his withdrawal of French military units from integration in the NATO command, his persistence in building a French nuclear force, his opposition to an Atlantic combined force, his recognition of Peking, his tour of Latin America, his neutralist intervention in Southeast Asia, etc., has a Cartesian cogency. And his three major February 4 propositions are also fully at home in the system.

First, the postwar "gold exchange standard" must be abandoned. Because, of course, under that standard, on which the international business of the free world has been conducted for the past twenty years, the U.S. dollar and the British pound have a position privileged and dominant over all other monetary units—as "reserve currencies" supplementing gold as backing for the currencies of all non-Communist nations. France cannot be free of the Anglo-Saxon yoke unless the franc emancipates itself from the Anglo-Saxon currencies.

In place of the gold exchange standard—which "no longer corresponds to present realities"—de Gaulle proposed a return to "no other criterion, no other standard, than gold—gold that never changes, that can be shaped into ingots, bars, coins, that has no nationality and that is eternally and universally accepted as the unalterable fiduciary value par excellence." To some, he seemed to be advocating a return to the classic "gold standard," but this is by no means unambiguously clear in his Delphic formulation—particularly when we recall that a few months ago his representatives supported a very different program at the Tokyo meeting of the International Monetary Fund.

The monetary reform now so urgently needed may be debated on its own merits. In understanding de Gaulle, what is essential is to realize that he has never had any interest or expertise in economics, and that he would settle for a soybean monetary standard if he thought that would best serve his political and strategic objectives. What he is trying to do with his hymn to gold is to knock the dollar off its perch on the top rung; and, more specifically, to compel Washington to brake new U.S. investments in French industry—facilitated by the present gold exchange stan-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Focus on WASHINGTON

The President's renowned distaste for monetary questions, which we reported on a fortnight ago, is slowing down his training schedule. It had been hoped that he would get a firm grip on the rudiments in short enough time to get a message to Congress early in February on the serious condition of our gold and silver reserves. He dawdled. Finally President de Gaulle fired a warning shot across Johnson's bow. Johnson called a hasty and secret meeting with Treasury Secretary Dillon and other monetary types, and the cram sessions began. To some extent the monetary future of the West hangs on how much Mr. Johnson can learn in two weeks. Like too many of his colleagues in the Congress, he has never thought seriously about the monetary limits on welfarism.

◆ Hope is reviving that the Pentagon is not doomed. The creeping Edselization of American military power may have suffered a sharp check with the accession of Mendel Rivers (D., S.C.) to the chair of the House Armed Services Committee. The feeling is growing that there must be a choice made soon between keeping Defense Secretary McNamara, and keeping a Defense Department capable of fighting a real war—not collecting insect droppings on the moon. There are some who think it might be bad business to gain the moon but lose Southeast Asia.

◆ You'll be happy to know that the Right Wing was victorious last November. That's what the Women's National Democratic Club learned at a recent to-do. Senator Gale McGee (Council for a Livable Wyoming, etc.) cursed the clergy for their failure to curse the conservatives; lashed at the rightists' lust for power; and gave out that the John Birch laddies "have acquired greater potential power than any group in the history of our country." The next most terrified orator was Mr. Richard Dudman of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch,* who tickled the Democratic ladies with stories of the rightist *apparat* that has five or six million members. (Anyone care to make it 27 million?) And finally dear old George Meany rose from his deck chair to honk the shofar at the faithful, reminding them to work speedily, lest "we lose to right-wing lobbyists in the spring what we won at the polls in the autumn." All of which agrees with the judgment expressed in the December 1964 issue of *Nowe Drogi,* the monthly organ of the Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party, which said: "One cannot slight the fact that 27 million votes were cast for Goldwater. Many papers and persons, often representing different standpoints, indicate the fact that the danger of Goldwaterism has not passed and might even have increased."

◆ Massachusetts, anyone? Mr. Volpe, the present governor there, is a quaint Republican, not of the staying type. Former governor Endicott Peabody would like to get back to the State House, now that his mommy is out of pokey. Kenny O'Donnell, one of the expendables from the John Kennedy staff, considers Massachusetts a decent step down from the White House, and has been asking road directions of the natives. Mr. Larry O'Brien, another brilliant young Irish politician whose prospects at the federal level dried quickly in the Texas sun, would also like to revert to simpler things and become governor of Massachusetts. The reason why these cheerful young men do not slice the throat of the venerable Republican Senator Mister Leveretcetera Saltonstall is that Mr. Saltonstall has always kept both personal and political lines out to the Brothers Kennedy, and there is gratitude among politicians, just as there is honor among . . . politicians. House Speaker John McCormack's young nephew Eddie, and Mayor John Collins of Boston, are also looking to their personal future, and how to send the kids to college, and so on. The new boy Senator, Teddy Kennedy, will have his hands full, trying to find enough rattles and balloons and toy governorships for all of his playmates. In a rational world, or even a decently sentimental one, we would weep for Massachusetts.

◆ Mr. John Bailey, the zombie chairman of the Democratic National Committee, has brought suit before the Federal Communications Commission, charging ten radio stations with having disregarded the "fairness doctrine" of the FCC. A one-minute film showing a little girl being detonated will be given to the reader supplying the best punch line for Mr. Bailey. **—CATO**

---

dard—which he described as "a kind of appropriation."

Second, the United Nations must be reformed. "The General Assembly took upon itself the right of deciding the use of force, and this transformed it immediately into a battlefield for the two rivals [S.U. and U.S.]. In the ensuing confusion the then Secretary General was led into building himself up into a superior and excessive authority." The UN must "recover its balance"— *i.e.,* must shift power back from the Assembly and Secretary General to the Security Council. To do this, "Washington, Moscow, London, Peking and Paris" should meet in Geneva and "return to the starting point."

That last proposal is a fairly outré chimera, even for Charles de Gaulle. Nevertheless, the political perspective, here too, is clear and consistent. In the UN, as in general, France must recover full freedom of action. This cannot be done in the Assembly, where Russia or the U.S. can drum up a smothering majority, nor can France trust a non-French Secretary General. France, sitting in the Security Council, with right of veto, can safeguard her interests—and would, happily, be sole spokesman, among the acknowledged

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

supreme Five, for Western, non-Anglo-Saxon Europe. For good measure, in his mischievous way, de Gaulle named "Peking" for China.

Third, "the German problem" must be recognized as "a purely European problem." Russia, when she "evolves sufficiently to see her own future," and the nations of East Europe, when they "recover the possibility of acting for themselves in a renewed Europe," will join with France and her present partners in the Economic Community to settle the German problem and "to achieve a Europe that exists in agreement and cooperation from the Atlantic to the Urals." The Anglo-Saxons will stand aside. De Gaulle neglected to note whether he has concluded that the Anglo-Saxons should have stood aside from the "purely European" "German problem" in 1914-18 and 1939-45. Nor did he raise any question about Germany's permanent willingness to accept as guide for the future the chart drawn by Charles de Gaulle.

The Law-Abiding Need Not Apply

Remember the terrible racism of yore, when ads would finish with "Irish need not apply" or "Italians need not apply"? The idea touches a jangling nerve today, and rightly so. We are learning, in our way. Therefore there's reason to hope that we'll learn that the Constitution of the United States is also, like a job as upstairs maid, available to qualified applicants.

What brings this all to mind is that we shall celebrate, on February 25, the first anniversary of the date on which Mr. Bobby Baker pleaded constitutional protection ("Right to Privacy") 121 times when being interrogated by the Senate Rules Committee concerning his extraordinary career, and the subject fell into even sharper focus when, a couple of weeks ago, the little Tyler wench, Mr. Baker's "cousin" as he reported her, lectured the press on the impropriety of treating her as if she were Mr. Baker's cousin, and, when asked if she *really* had done X or Y or Z, turned right around and clammed up like a professional, claiming, natch, that old-time religion, constitutional protection.

Meanwhile, back home, let's just suppose you're a law-abiding citizen. Uncle Sam comes to the door and asks you how many bathtubs you have, as he indeed did do, to 16 million households, in 1960; and Uncle Sam threatens to toss you in jail for 60 days and/or hit you with a $100 fine if you don't come across, pronto, with the true and complete answers to a hundred rather personal questions. Have *you,* Mr. Law-Abiding Citizen, got constitutional protection? No: not according to a unanimous opinion of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit (*The People* v. *William Rickenbacker,* Judge Thurgood Marshall presiding).

Or suppose, Mr. Decent Citizen, that you claim your Right of Privacy, as Mr. Baker and Miss Tyler have claimed, when the bank asks you for your social security number, or the Veterans Administration asks you for your new address, or the tax collector asks you for your record of payments to your doctor? Meet you in court . . .

The Senate has been investigating Mr. Baker and Miss Tyler and their consorts since the seventh day of October in the year of our Lord 1963, and has found very little, because that lipoid young man and that puffy little angel have announced that they have constitutional protection. Neither of them has even been taken to court, much less convicted and sentenced.

The Constitution, a decent well-regulated household, has openings for individuals willing to be free. Law-abiding citizens need not apply.

Stopping in Albany on a Snowy Evening

Whose house this is I think I know:
There's Happy in a furbelow!
She will not see me sitting here
To rime a few malicious *mots.*
My little car must think it queer
To stop, with Mobilgas so near.
I give the horn a tiny toot
To tell it to be resolute.
The only other sound's the fall
Of mimeo on mimeo.
She's grinding out another plug
For hubby's Presidential bug
While Rocky gets his beauty sleep
While Rocky gets his beauty sleep.

W. H. von Dreele

Let Them Eat Civil Rights

Any citizen of good will cannot fail to be revolted by the utter contempt for equal rights displayed by the Hammermill Paper Co. of Erie, Pa., in its present plan to spend $25 million constructing a new plant near Selma, Ala. Dr. Robert W. Spike, director of the National Council of Churches' Committee on Religion and Race, put the feelings of all sane and responsible men into focus when he excoriated the Hammermill executives for daring to do business with Governor Wallace at a time when Selma's Negro community has sent more than 3,400 of its members to jail in support of Martin Luther King's crusade for equality in the voter registers. The NAACP and CORE made the issue crystal clear with protests that equated the construction of the plant with support for segregation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sober and decent people everywhere will not be deceived for long by Hammermill's flimsy promise to perpetuate in Selma its record of nondiscriminatory hiring practices. Nor need they suppose any real purpose will be served by making hundreds of new jobs available to Selma, its whites and Negroes alike. The time cannot be long before institutionalized racist greed will crumble before integrationist tactics that match, in monolithic severity, vengefulness and indifference to results, the worst that white supremacy has to offer.

Collectors of the World, Unite!

The French magazine, *Les Arts*, is up in arms against Minister of Culture André Malraux, his Ministry of Cultural Affairs, and UNESCO. The editors fear that Malraux will succeed in ramming through the sycophantic Chamber of Deputies a law based on a UNESCO paper published in July of 1963 (UNESCO, CUA 123) outlining "measures to be taken to prohibit and prevent the export, import and illicit sale of cultural assets."

Under the proposed legislation, all works of art produced before 1920, whether in state museums or in private hands, must be registered with a special commission armed with powers to compel cooperation by the individual collector. What would result is a national inventory of cultural assets—not in itself a bad idea.

But that is only Step One. Under the UNESCO plan, the State would then acquire the right to "relieve" the private citizen of "any cultural asset" that it, the State, construes as belonging to the "artistic heritage" of the country. It's not barefaced confiscation that's planned, understand; not, at any rate, if the collector acquired his particular "cultural asset" in "good faith." In that case, the fortunate citizen will enjoy the "right to compensation equivalent to the price he paid." *Les Arts* points out that if, for instance, a collector was lucky enough, or smart enough, to have picked up a Cézanne for 50 francs, the State could come in, pay him 50 francs, pat him on the back, and *au revoir* Cézanne. (And there would be nothing to prevent the State from turning around and putting the Cézanne up at auction in Sotheby's and making a pretty franc on the deal. In fact, the State's right to barter or otherwise dispose of its cultural assets is explicitly reserved.)

When Malraux presented his proposal to the Chamber he told the Deputies that "private ownership of works of art is almost finished," an indication that at least he conceives the adoption of the measure as the beginning of the end for private collections. The first aim of the bill in preparation, says *Les Arts*,

"is to extinguish private collections and collectors so that a sort of mob museum culture may be fostered; the second is to stop all private dealing in works of art so that 'official' trade can take its place."

So seriously is this threat to sanity taken in France that the *Syndicat National des Antiquaires* has prophesied that if the measure is passed "works of art in private hands will once again go underground." *Les Arts* hopes, by publicizing the situation, to get art lovers and collectors of the world to unite against the latest UNESCO power play, and prevent its adoption in France.

Notes and Asides

The October 15 issue of the prestigious *Library Journal* made up a list of periodicals that express dissenting points of view right across the spectrum (interestingly, it did not include the *New Republic*, and quite properly so: there is nothing much left for the *New Republic* to dissent about, having become the Establishment's journal of opinion), sent the list to 120 libraries asking which periodicals the library carried, and did the libraries themselves pay for the subscriptions, or were they gifts? The answer:

	Paid	Gift		Paid	Gift
Nation	94	0	*International Teamster*	6	30
National Review	80	5	*Freedomways*	12	2
Ebony	84	0	*I. F. Stone's Weekly*	4	8
Human Events	16	45	*Worker*	9	3
American Mercury	53	1	*American Opinion*	7	3
American Federalist	30	20	*Minority of One*	6	2
Crisis	41	4	*Muhammad Speaks*	2	1
Church & State	2	39	*Correlator*	1	1
National Guardian	33	5	*Cross and Flag*	0	2
Progressive	29	9	*Militant*	1	1
			Augusta Courier	0	0

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Fatal Pattern

Yalta Twenty Years After

BRUTUS COSTE

The Yalta decisions have rightly been considered the symbol of a certain type of peace-making which made the Sovietization of eastern Europe inevitable. But they were obviously not the sole cause of the turn events were to take. The inter-Allied agreements giving the Soviets a practical monopoly of military operations in the area to the east of the Stettin-Trieste line; the progress of the war in Europe at the beginning of 1945; and previous exercises in summitry—all were certainly weightier factors. And yet, Yalta alone made the completion of the process inevitable.

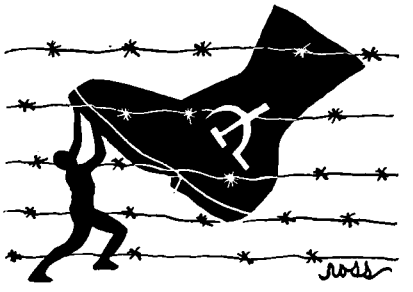
For Yalta set a *pattern* for yielding on specifics while proclaiming unassailable aims and lofty principles; for recognizing Soviet stooges against a vague promise of eventual free elections; for drowning embarrassing deeds in high-sounding words.

Of the three Yalta decisions directly relevant to the developments in eastern Europe, one, the Declaration on Liberated Europe, dealt with the principles that were to preside over the restoration of sovereignty and representative governments in the Allied-occupied lands. Two others dealt with the specific questions of Poland and Yugoslavia.

Atlantic Charter Disregarded

The Declaration on Liberated Europe affirmed "the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live." It pledged "the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those peoples who have been forcibly deprived of them," and Allied help in forming "interim governmental authorities broadly representative of all democratic elements in the population and pledged to the earliest possible establishment through free elections of governments responsive to the people."

The agreement on Poland at once demonstrated what the Soviets really meant by these lofty pledges. In disregard of the Atlantic Charter which the Declaration had reaffirmed, and without the concurrence of the legal Polish government, an important ally in the field, the three heads of government amputated two-fifths of Poland's national territory in favor of Soviet Russia. Next they agreed on a



procedure for the step by step recognition of the Lublin Committee, the rootless band of Soviet puppets, as legal government of Poland. The Lublin group was to be "recognized on a broader basis with the inclusion of democratic leaders from Poland itself and from Poles abroad." Molotov and the British and U.S. Ambassadors in Moscow were given the task of helping in this "reorganization"; and the outcome of their exertions, a Lublin regime with some window-dressing, was to become the Polish Provisional Government of *National Unity*. This was to be recognized by the United States and Britain against a mere pledge "to hold free and unfettered elections *as soon as possible*."

The agreement on Yugoslavia was a mere endorsement of an agreement forced on Premier Subasic, of the Royal Government in exile, providing for a similar procedure to establish a sham coalition with the Tito regime. The purpose was obviously to lend Tito the benefit of continuity and to earn for him, along with Western recognition, the seat of a founding member in the United Nations.

The Polish agreement set the pattern which was to bring recognition shortly thereafter and, later, a peace treaty and UN membership to the Communist regime Soviet Commissar Vyshinsky set up in Rumania, by ultimatum, three weeks after Yalta. It was applied as effectively in 1946, in Bulgaria. The success of these operations certainly encouraged the subversion of the only freely elected postwar governments in eastern Europe: the Hungarian (1947) and Czechoslovak (1948).

The Apologia

The classic argument of the apologists is that since Soviet Russia was in military occupation of eastern Europe, there was no alternative to the course adopted at Yalta. The Soviet presence and the regimes Moscow had set up were facts. The West could at best soften the consequences, and this required dealing with Stalin.

It may be true that strong military pressure would have been the only effective way to induce Stalin to honor his commitments. The Western powers were obviously unprepared for this. And they had not had the foresight before Stalingrad, while Moscow felt weak, to exact hard and fast commitments on the postwar settlement. But this did not leave them helpless. Moscow and the satellites badly needed Western recognition; some of them were eager to sign peace treaties. Why couldn't the Western powers have made both recognition and treaties contingent on the *prior* holding of free elections?

It is a fact that the Yalta pattern of recognition greatly assisted the Communist takeover. The specific agreements gave an early indication to the popular masses that there was little to expect from the West. They fostered a climate of hopelessness extremely useful to the Communist minority. In turn, the lofty declarations fed a great many illusions among democratic political leaders and were responsible for countless tragedies.

In perspective, the ever-recurring Yalta pattern appears to be a mixture of American and British pragmatism. Wait-and-see, wishful thinking, an over-optimistic view of human nature and destiny, faith in the law of change—these seem to provide a more convincing explanation for its appearance at the end of the war

(Continued on p. 166)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Warren Court by the Warren Court

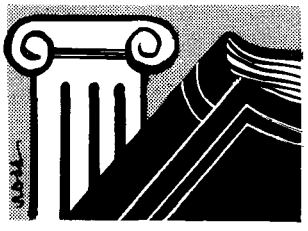
We know what Robert Welch and Professor Henry Steele Commager think about the Warren Court, but what does the Warren Court think about itself?

PAUL C. BARTHOLOMEW

Continuously refueled by provocative new decisions, debate continues over whether to impeach, hang or sanctify the Warren Court. It occurred to Professor Paul C. Bartholomew of the University of Notre Dame to appeal the question all the way up to the nation's highest and final tribunal: that is, to the Warren Court itself. He has here assembled the considered judgment, delivered formally from the Bench from 1961 to December 1964, of the Court's own members on the Court. Seven of the nine Justices—Messrs. Black, Clark, Frankfurter, Harlan, Stewart, White and Whittaker—concurring, the verdict of the lower instance is upheld: the Warren Court is guilty of murdering the Constitution of the United States. The verdict thus stands, and condign sentence will forthwith be carried out. . . .

Mr. Justice Harlan, joined by Mr. Justice Frankfurter and Mr. Justice Whittaker in *Mapp* v. *Ohio,* 367 U.S. 643 (1961): ". . . The Court, in my opinion has forgotten the sense of judicial restraint which, with due regard for *stare decisis,* is one element that should enter into deciding whether a past decision of this Court should be overruled. . . . The action of the Court finds no support in the rule that decision of constitutional issues should be avoided wherever possible. . . . The unwisdom of overruling *Wolf* without full-dress argument is aggravated by the circumstance that that decision is a comparatively recent one (1949) to which three members of the present majority have at one time or another expressly subscribed, one to be sure with explicit misgivings. I would think that our obligation to the States, on whom we impose this new rule, as well as the obligation of orderly adherence to our own processes would demand that we seek that aid which adequate briefing and argument lends to the determination of an important issue. It certainly has never been a postulate of judicial power that mere altered disposition, or subsequent membership on the Court, is sufficient warrant for overturning a deliberately decided rule of constitutional law."

Mr. Justice Frankfurter, joined by Mr. Justice Harlan, in *Baker* v. *Carr,* 369 U.S. 186 (1962): "The Court today reverses a uniform course of decision established by a dozen cases, including one by which the very claim now sustained was unanimously rejected only five years ago. . . . Such a massive repudiation of the experience of our whole past in asserting destructively novel judicial power demands a detailed analysis of the role of this Court in our constitutional scheme. . . . In effect, today's decision empowers the courts of the country to devise what should constitute the proper composition of the legislatures of the fifty States. If state courts should for one reason or another find themselves unable to discharge this task, the duty of doing so is put on the federal courts or on this Court. . . . There is nothing judicially more unseemly nor more self-defeating than for this Court to make *in terrorem* pronouncements, to indulge in merely empty rhetoric, sounding a word of promise to the ear, sure to be disappointing to the hope. . . . To find such a political conception legally enforceable in the broad and unspecific guarantee of equal protection is to rewrite the Constitution. . . . The notion that representation proportioned to the geographic spread of population is so universally accepted as a necessary element of equality between man and man that it must be taken to be the standard of a political equality preserved by the Fourteenth Amendment—that it is, in appellants' words 'the basic principle of representative government'—is, to put it bluntly, not true. However desirable and however desired by some among the great political thinkers and framers of our government, it has never been generally practiced, today or in the past."



Mr. Justice Harlan, joined by Mr. Justice Frankfurter, in *Baker* v. *Carr*: "I can find nothing in the Equal Protection Clause or elsewhere in the Federal Constitution which expressly or impliedly supports the view that state legislatures must be so structured as to reflect with approximate equality the voice of every voter. Not only is that proposition refuted by history, as shown by my Brother Frankfurter, but it strikes deep into the heart of our federal system. Its acceptance would require us to turn our backs on the regard which this Court has always shown for the judgment of state legislatures and courts on matters of basically local concern."

Mr. Justice Stewart in *Engel* v. *Vitale,* 370 U.S. 421 (1962): "With all respect, I think the Court has misapplied a great constitutional principle. I cannot see how an 'official religion' is established by letting those who want to say a prayer say it."

Mr. Justice Stewart in *Escobedo* v. *State of Illinois,* 378 U.S. 478 (1964): "The Court says that what happened during this investigation 'affected' the trial. I had always supposed that the whole purpose of a police investigation of a murder was to 'affect' the trial of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the murderer, and that it would be only an incompetent, unsuccessful, or corrupt investigation which would not do so. . . .

"Supported by no stronger authority than its own rhetoric, the Court today converts a routine police investigation of an unsolved murder into a distorted analogue of a judicial trial. It imports into this investigation constitutional concepts historically applicable only after the onset of formal prosecutorial proceedings. By doing so, I think the Court perverts those precious constitutional guarantees, and frustrates the vital interests of society in preserving the legitimate and proper function of honest and purposeful police investigation."

Mr. Justice White, joined by Mr. Justice Clark and Mr. Justice Stewart, in *Escobedo* v. *State of Illinois*: "The decision is thus another major step in the direction of the goal which the Court seemingly has in mind—to bar from evidence all admissions obtained from an individual suspected of crime, whether involuntarily made or not . . . I would not abandon the Court's prior cases defining with some care and analyses the circumstances requiring the presence or aid of counsel and substitute the amorphous and wholly unworkable principle that counsel is constitutionally required whenever he would or could be helpful. Until now there simply has been no right guaranteed by the Federal Constitution to be free from the use at trial of a voluntary admission made prior to indictment. . . . Today's decision cannot be squared with other provisions of the Constitution which, in my view, define the system of criminal justice this Court is empowered to administer."

Mr. Justice Black, joined by Mr. Justice Clark, in *Jackson* v. *Denno*, 378 U.S. 368 (1964): ". . . . My wide difference with the Court is in its apparent holding that it has constitutional power to change trial procedures because of its belief that they are not fair. There is no constitutional provision which gives this Court any such lawmaking power. . . . I think that the New York law here held invalid is in full accord with all the guarantees of the Federal Constitution and that it should not be held invalid by this Court because of a belief that the Court can improve on the Constitution."

Mr. Justice Harlan in *Wesberry* v. *Sanders*, 376 U.S. 1 (1964): "The Court's holding that the Constitution requires States to select Representatives either by elections at large or by elections in districts composed 'as nearly as is practicable' of equal population places in jeopardy the seats of almost all the members of the present House of Representatives. . . . Only a demonstration which could not be avoided would justify this Court in rendering a decision the effect of which, inescapably as I see it, is to declare constitutionally defective the very composition of a coordinate branch of the Federal Government. The Court's opinion not only fails to make such a demonstration. It is unsound logically on its face and demonstrably unsound historically. . . . The Court's talk about 'debasement' and 'dilution' of the vote is a model of circular reasoning, in which the premises of the argument feed on the conclusion.

"Today's decision has portents for our society and the Court itself which should be recognized. This is not a case in which the Court vindicates the kind of individual rights that are assured by the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. . . . The claim for judicial relief in this case strikes at one of the fundamental doctrines of our system of government, the separation of powers. In upholding that claim, the Court attempts to effect reforms in a field which the Constitution, as plainly as can be, has committed exclusively to the political process.

"This Court, no less than all other branches of the Government, is bound by the Constitution. The Constitution does not confer on the Court blanket authority to step into every situation where the political branch may be thought to have fallen short. The stability of this institution ultimately depends not only upon its being alert to keep the other branches of government within constitutional bounds, but equally upon recognition of the limitations on the Court's own functions in the constitutional system.

"What is done today saps the political process. The promise of judicial intervention in matters of this sort cannot but encourage popular inertia in efforts for political reform through the political process, with the inevitable result that the process is itself weakened. By yielding to the demand for a judicial remedy in this instance, the Court in my view does a disservice both to itself and to the broader values of our system of government."

Mr. Justice Harlan in *Reynolds* v. *Sims*, 377 U.S. 533 (1964): "Today's holding is that the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment requires every State to structure its legislature so that all the members of each house represent substantially the same number of people. . . . I think it demonstrable that the Fourteenth Amendment does not impose this political tenet on the States or authorize this Court to do so. . . . It is meaningless to speak of constitutional 'development' when both the language and history of the controlling provisions of the Constitution are wholly ignored. Since it can, I think, be shown beyond doubt that state legislative apportionments, as such, are wholly free of constitutional limitations, save such as may be imposed by the Republican Form of Government Clause (Const., Art. IV, Sec. 4), the Court's action now bringing them within the purview of the Fourteenth Amendment amounts to nothing less than an exercise of the amending power by this Court . . .

"Even if one were to accept the majority's belief that it is proper entirely to disregard the unmistakable implications of the second section of the Amendment in construing the first section, one is confounded by its disregard of all this history. There is here none of the difficulty which may attend the application of basic principles to situations not contemplated or understood when the principles were framed. The problems which concern the Court now were problems when the Amendment was adopted. By the deliberate choice of those responsible for the Amendment, it left those problems untouched. . . . In my judgment, today's decisions are refuted by the language of the Amendment which they construe and by the inference fairly to be drawn from subsequently enacted Amendments. They are unequivocally refuted by history and by consistent

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

theory and practice from the time of the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment until today.

"The Court's elaboration of its new 'constitutional' doctrine indicates how far—and how unwisely—it has strayed from the appropriate bounds of its authority. The consequence of today's decision is that in all but the handful of States which may already satisfy the new requirements the local District Court or, it may be, the state courts, are given blanket authority and the constitutional duty to supervise apportionment of the state legislatures. It is difficult to imagine a more intolerable and inappropriate interference by the judiciary with the independent legislatures of the States. . . .

"I know of no principle of logic or practical or theoretical politics, still less any constitutional principle, which establishes all or any of these exclusions. Certain it is that the Court's opinion does not establish them. . . .

". . . . What is done today deepens my conviction that judicial entry into this realm is profoundly ill-advised and constitutionally impermissible.

". . . . Nevertheless, no thinking person can fail to recognize that the aftermath of these cases, however desirable it may be thought in itself, will have been achieved at the cost of a radical alteration in the relationship between the States and the Federal Government, more particularly the Federal Judiciary. Only one who has an overbearing impatience with the federal system and its political processes will believe that the cost was not too high or was inevitable.

"Finally, these decisions give support to a current mistaken view of the Constitution and the constitutional function of this Court. This view, in a nutshell, is that every major social ill in this country can find its cure in some constitutional 'principle', and that this Court should 'take the lead' in promoting reform when other branches of government fail to act. The Constitution is not a panacea for every blot upon the public welfare, nor should this Court, ordained as a judicial body, be thought of as a general haven for reform movements. The Constitution is an instrument of government, fundamental to which is the premise that in a diffusion of governmment authority lies the greatest promise that this Nation will realize liberty for all its citizens. This Court, limited in function in accordance with that premise, does not serve its high purpose when it exceeds its authority, even to satisfy justified impatience with the slow workings of the political process. For when, in the name of constitutional interpretation, the Court

adds something to the Constitution that was deliberately excluded from it, the Court in reality substitutes its view of what should be so for the amending process."

Mr. Justice Harlan, joined by Mr. Justice Clark, in *Malloy* v. *Hogan*, 378 U.S. 1 (1964): ". . . . The Court should have fulfilled its responsibility under the Due Process Clause by inquiring whether the proceedings below met the demands of fundamental fairness which due process embodies. Such an approach may not satisfy those who see in the Fourteenth Amendment a set of easily applied 'absolutes' which can afford a haven from unsettling doubt. It is, however, truer to the spirit which requires this Court constantly to re-examine fundamental principles and at the same time enjoins it from reading its own preferences into the Constitution."

Mr. Justice Harlan in *Hamm* v. *Rock Hill* (1964): "The Court holds that these state trespass convictions, occurring before the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 must be set aside by virtue of the federal doctrine of criminal abatement. This remarkable conclusion finds no support in reason or authority. . . . I know of no case which suggests that the doctrine of abatement can be applied to affect the existing legislation of another jurisdiction. Until today the doctrine has always been applied only with respect to legislation of the *same* sovereignty . . . . there is not a scintilla of evidence which remotely suggests that Congress had any such revolutionary course in mind."

Mr. Justice White in *Hamm* v. *Rock Hill* (1964): ". . . . And if Congress had the power to abate these convictions I am confident it had no intent of exercising it by passing the new law. There is nothing but silence to indicate that Congress meant to void outstanding judgments of state courts. . . . The truth is that it is only judicial rhetoric to blame this result upon Congress. Given a discernible congressional decision, I would be happy to follow it, as it is our task to do, absent constitutional limitations. But without it we have another case. Whether persons or groups should engage in nonviolent disobedience to laws with which they disagree perhaps defies any categorical answer for the guidance of every individual in every circumstance. But whether a court should give it wholesale sanction is a wholly different question which calls for only one answer."

Mr. Justice Black in *Hamm* v. *Rock Hill* (1964): "Nothing in the language or history of the 1964 Act makes the Court's reading into it of a purpose to interfere with state laws 'inevitable' or even supportable, nor in any way justifies the Court's off-hand assertion that it is carrying out the 'legislative purpose.' For I do not find one paragraph, one sentence, one clause, or one word in the 1964 Act on which the most strained efforts of the most fertile imagination could support such a conclusion. And in what is perhaps the most extensive and careful legislative history ever compiled, dealing with one of the most thoroughly discussed and debated bills ever passed by Congress, a history including millions and millions of words written on tens of thousands of pages contained in volumes weighing well over half a hundred pounds, in which every conceivable aspect and application of the 1964 Act were discussed *ad infinitum*, not even once did a single sponsor, proponent or opponent of the Act intimate a hope or express a fear that the Act was intended to have the effect which the Court gives it today."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Third World War

On the Southern Flank

JAMES BURNHAM

The governing elite of an established society both misunderstands and underrates an aspiring outsider. How could it be otherwise? His manners are coarse, his accent boorish, and his conduct violates all the rules. He is a low-born Corsican, a dirty coal miner, a carpenter's bastard, a clown, a jailbird, a loudmouth, a crackpot. Maybe he can stir ignorant masses to riot and mayhem. Wait until he comes up against the *real* problems of running society! He knows nothing about economics or science or history . . .

So, in our time, went the judgment on the miner who undertook syndical organization of the working class; the crackpots who split dialectical hairs with Lenin and Trotsky; the fascist clown who marched on Rome or conquered beer halls. The backward Russians couldn't make an A-bomb in a generation. The illiterate Egyptian will never be able to run the Suez Canal. What can a jungle bandit like Ho Chi Minh do against a half million soldiers of the world's most civilized nation?

He Can't Be Serious

Most of all, the economic conduct of the outsider seems supremely irrational. When the masses realize the economy is being wrecked, leaving them poorer and hungrier than ever, sentiment will (won't it?) turn against the upstart, and his regime will collapse. Isn't it self-evident that what the masses want is more food, clothing, houses, cars, medicare? Isn't it a fact that Castro, Nasser, Kenyatta, Ben Bella reduce the economies of their countries to shambles? So doesn't it follow . . .? Or is it just possible that—in relation to the masses of men as they really are—it is the Welfare State, the Great Society, that is irrational?

The upstart is never believed by the wise men of the Establishment, though he usually says plainly what he is aiming to do—destroy the *ancien régime*, upset the Versailles *diktat*, seize industry, capture the neighboring land, conquer the world. That sort of talk is just bombast. When he settles into power he'll quiet down and we can do business.

Sukarno's personal morality is scandalous and his ideology absurd. He has few peers as an economy-wrecker. It took genius to reduce the people of his fertile island-empire to actual hunger. He has cut off the main channels — through Singapore and the Netherlands—of Indonesian trade. He has degraded Indonesian currency to the bushel-basket level.

The Island Empire

Sukarno has also overthrown the Europeans who ruled those islands for hundreds of years; taken over their factories, stores and plantations; beaten down a dozen rival claimants to power, and consolidated a government over 3,000 islands with 100 million inhabitants; annexed half of the world's second largest island. He has assembled the largest armed force in Southeast Asia: 400,000 men, 30,000 of them paratroopers; 500 combat planes; thousands of tanks and armored cars; a navy with two heavy cruisers, a couple of dozen destroyers and half a dozen submarines.

These are spectacular achievements. They have been won with surprisingly little actual fighting. Sukarno has maneuvered with the subtlety and indirection of the storybook Oriental. He has got others—Japan, the U.S., Russia, China, the UN—to do most of his work. He has induced Washington and Moscow to compete in making good his deficits and building his military power.

Sukarno has called his shots publicly, and in advance. He said he would make Indonesia an independent state, and he did. He said he would expropriate "the colonialists and imperialists," and he has; that he would take "West Irian," and so it came to pass. He said he would get out of the UN, and he got out. Why should we suppose he doesn't mean it when he tells us he is going to "Crush Malaysia"? Today he has 30,000 troops at the Sarawak border, threatening Kuching; thousands along the Sumatra coast, across the narrow Malacca Strait from Singapore and Malaya; ships throughout the South Seas; a puppet governor—the Brunei leader, Sheik Azahari ("Prime Minister of Kalimantan Utara") — already in Jakarta. Meanwhile he launches his mobs against the local U.S. installation, and sends his foreign minister to Peking.

What the Map Says

If we study a map, the Grand Strategic meaning of the Crush Malaysia campaign becomes clear. Sukarno has activated the southern flank of a gigantic two-pronged nutcracker operation now squeezing the West out of Southeast Asia, land and ocean. This is the objective strategic meaning of what is going on in that theater, quite apart from tactical divergencies among the parties to the operation (Moscow, Peking, Hanoi, Jakarta) or from the question whether they have formally concerted their plans — which in some degree at least is likely.

The West faces this vast operation without a counterstrategy; with, literally, no counterstrategy at all. You cannot devise a counterstrategy without first recognizing that you face an integrated strategic problem; and this recognition is not accorded by the Western statesmen—though some of their military chiefs have been trying to explain it to them. The U.S., like the other Western powers, continues a pigeon-hole approach, with separate policies toward each element—Moscow, Peking, Jakarta, Vientiane, Saigon, Taiwan, etc., etc. The U.S. and Britain, both massively involved in the region, do not even have a general military and political agreement, much less the combined theater command that the strategic situation calls for. In the wider Western circle, France sabotages the Western interest and consorts with the enemy. The narcotic illusion that a "nuclear stalemate" and "Sino-Soviet split" have dispelled "the main danger" has shattered Western unity and Western resolve at the moment when the West faces its greatest defeat since the Communist conquest of China.

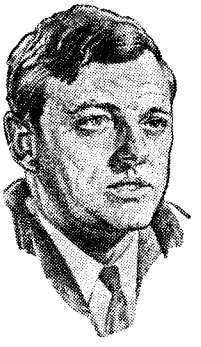
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On the Right

Churchill in the Balance

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

For as long as heroes are written about, Winston Churchill will be written about. The proportions are all abundantly there. He was everything. The soldier who loved poetry. The historian who loved to paint. The diplomat who thrived on indiscretion. The patriot with international vision. The orderly man given to electric spontaneities. The man who flunked everything at school and then kept a generation of scholars busy interpreting his work and his words. The loyal party man who could cross the aisle and join the opposition when principle called. The Tory traditionalist revered in his old age by the neoteric levelers.



Buckley

He was a very great man, and it is the crowning pity under the circumstances that he did not have that final ounce of strength to deliver Europe from the mess in which he left it after the great war to which he, as much as anyone else, committed the entire world. It is ungrateful to say of the dead, particularly of those few among the dead who were so distinguished in their lifetime, that they owed us more than they gave us. But Churchill is as much responsible as anyone else in our time for calling forth exacting judgments. The nobility of his utterances galvanized us to believe in the final possibilities of individual human beings, of statesmen, and of nations. His great orations during the war which he told us he was waging, and believed that he waged, in behalf of righteousness, require the observer to apply the highest standards to his life and goals.

All those men who were moved by the martial rhetoric of Winston Churchill to go out and die also figure in any obituary notice of Winston Churchill, and they are not appeased by glossing over the final imperfection of Churchill's life.

It was Churchill who pledged a restored Europe, indeed a restored world order after the great war. He did not deliver us such a world. No one else could so have stirred the world's imagination as he, at that critical point in world history, to press for the final goal the war was fought to achieve—the elimination of the source of aggressive evil that finds us today, on Churchill's death, not only living in a world in which more people are slaves than were slaves in the darkest hours of the Battle of Britain, but in a world that cares infinitely less about the wretchedness of these peoples than cared about such things even during the lackadaisical, disorganized thirties. At least during that period Churchill was there to bellow his indignation at the depravities of Adolf Hitler. Now, a generation later, it has become uncouth, dislocative, warmongering, to bellow against injustice even on a vastly magnified scale.

The Statesman Overwhelmed

Churchill suggested, in his autobiography, that after all he could not be held responsible for the incomplete peacemaking inasmuch as power was suddenly taken from him in the surprise election of 1945. But Churchill had been in power, was almost omnipotent, at Yalta, and at Teheran, where the great statesmen of the West took some steps, and failed to take others, that insured the consolidation of Stalin's power in the territories he had overrun during the war, and insured also the expansion of the Communist system over whole continents. During those days Churchill the diplomat overwhelmed Churchill the statesman, the practitioner of justice. During those days Churchill found himself in the House of Commons delivering eulogies on the person of the abominable Stalin—a man whose evil he had years before remarked, representative of an evil whom no one had better analyzed than Churchill in the twenties. During those days he stood still for such disastrous fatuities as Franklin Roosevelt's impetuous call for unconditional surrender, a rhetorical fillip which in the analysis of some military experts may have cost us the unnecessary death of several hundred thousand men, and which most certainly was responsible for the supine condition of much of Europe at the moment when Stalin's legions took the nations over.

Is Winston Churchill a hero to the Polish people who were betrayed by the West? To the Yugoslavs? To the Hungarians and Rumanians and Czechs, whose plight under Nazism Churchill had so effectively dramatized as to mobilize all the forces of moral concern the world over into a war that began as a war for their liberation from the evil Nazis, and ended as a war for their perpetual imprisonment by the evil Communists?

It is true that at Fulton, Missouri, in 1946, Churchill focused the attention of the world, as again only he had the power to do, on the deteriorating situation. But he seemed thereafter to have lost the great engine that fired him ten years earlier to force the recognition of reality. Thenceforward he seemed only concerned to complete his literary and historical masterpieces, to regain power from the Labor Party almost only for the sake of regaining power.

He turned over the leadership of the world to the faltering hands of Americans who were manifestly his inferiors in the understanding of history and the management of human affairs, and contented himself to write dramatically about decisive battles won for freedom on the soil of England centuries ago, battles whose victory he celebrated vicariously, having no appetite left to fight real enemies, enemies whose health he had, God save him, nourished by that fateful shortage of vision that, in the end, left him, and the world, incapable of seeing that everything he had said and fought for applied alike to the Russian, as well as the German, virus. May he sleep more peacefully than some of those who depended on him.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Let's get straight to the point:

National Review *is a good place to advertise. We have the facts to prove it.* Now we need more advertising. All you need is this order blank*

***(The following facts about National Review's audience are taken from a recent mail survey of subscribers conducted by Benson & Benson, Inc., Princeton, New Jersey. [B & B have done the same kind of thing for The Readers' Digest, U. S. News & World Report, The Wall Street Journal and others.] The primary purpose of the study was to determine the audience characteristics and purchasing power of National Review subscribers. Only one mailing was used, to a more than adequate sample of paying subscribers residing in the U. S. No incentive was offered, as we were sure that the loyalty of our readers [well known to us] would insure an excellent response. It did. The single mailing brought a 48.9% response. The sample provides a cross section of all National Review subscribers. For the facts, continue below.)**

ABOUT OUR SUBSCRIBERS . . .

Who are they?

- The median age of **National Review** subscribers is 40.3 years, and the average 42.2 years.
- Seventy-two percent of **National Review** subscribers are married.
- The median number of family members is three and the average number of members is 3.5.
- The median annual income for a **National Review** subscriber's family is $13,129.77, and the average $19,530.45.
- The median net worth for a **National Review** subscriber's family is $72,976.19, and the average $151,693.14.
- Home ownership is 72.4% and the median current value of the home is $27,941.18, while the average value is $33,471.88.
- When asked how far along they went in their education, 34.4% of these subscribers say that they are post graduates, 30.3% say they are college graduates, and 18.7% said they attended college but did not graduate, thus making a total of 83.4% who at least attended college.

What do they do?

- As far as their occupation, job title or position is concerned, 20.4% of them are company officers, 10.5% have other management titles and 18.7% are professional people.
- Twenty-nine percent of the subscribers said they were a director, trustee, or officer of some company, institution, or foundation.
- Over half (55.0%) directly or indirectly influence the decisions on purchases made by the subscriber's firm or organization.

Where do they go?

- Almost half (48.9%) have traveled for business **within** the continental limits of the United States during the past 12 months (200 miles round-trip, or away from home overnight). The median number of trips taken by these business travelers is 4, and the average number 10.4. Seven out of ten (70.3%) used a plane, 74.8% used a private car, 30.0% rented a car, and 19.0% took a train.
- Business travel **outside** the continental limits of the United States during the past 12 months was undertaken by 8.8%. The median number of trips taken by these business travelers is 1 and the average number is 2.8. As for transportation used during these trips, 84.2% used a plane, 30.5% used a private car, 23.2% rented a car, 14.7% took a boat, and 12.6% used the railroad. Canada was the most popular country visited (39.8%), Europe took second place with 32.7% going there, and Mexico was third with 20.4% going there.
- Slightly more than 4 out of 5 (80.9%) have traveled on vacation, or for pleasure, **within** the continental limits of the United States during the past 12 months (3 days or more). The median number of trips taken by these vacationers or pleasure travelers is 2 and the average number 2.4. Almost 9 out of 10 (88.6%) used a private car, 30.9% took a plane, and 10.7% used the railroad.
- Vacation or pleasure travel **outside** the continental limits of the United States during the past 12 months was undertaken by 21.0%. The median number of trips taken by these vacation or pleasure travelers is 1, and the average number is 1.5. As for transportation used, 60.3% took a plane, 47.0% used a private car, 26.3% rented a car, 19.4% took a boat, and 16.8% used the railroad.

What do they buy?

- Almost everyone owns an automobile (93.7%). Among those owning an automobile, over half, (51.3%) own two or more automobiles, with 10.7% owning 3 or more. The median number of automobiles owned is 2, and the average number is 1.7.
- When asked about 9 specific items, almost 3 out of 4 (73.2%) own a high fidelity record player, 41.8% own a piano, 13.3% have color TV, and 10.5% own an outboard motor boat. The other

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Order Blank for Publication

AGENCY OR
FIRM NAME

TO PUBLISHER OF:

ORDER NO.
DATE:

PLEASE PUBLISH ADVERTISING OF/*advertiser*/
FOR/*product*/

SPACE

POSITION

COPY KEY CUTS

ADDITIONAL INSTRUCTIONS

RATE

LESS AGENCY COMMISSION PER CENT ON GROSS LESS CASH DISCOUNT PER CENT ON NET

This constitutes only an option to agency or firm to purchase space in National Review. No insertion will be run until confirmed by written order from agency or advertiser.

FOR/AGENCY

APPROVED BY

five items are swimming pools (8.3%), home electric organs (6.7%), daysailers (3.2%), inboard motor boats (3.0%), and auxiliary sailboats (1.6%).

• When queried as to which of these purchases they made in the past 12 months, 41.9% of the owners said they bought their color television set within the past 12 months, 35.7% the auxiliary sailboat, 29.3% the electric organ, 28.0% the daysailer, 20.9% the swimming pool, 20.8% the inboard motor boat, outboard motor boat 19.1%, high fidelity record player 15.2%, and piano 6.5%.

• Of those having air conditioning, almost two-thirds (63.8%) have individual room air conditioners, whereas slightly more than one-third (36.7%) have central equipment air conditioning. Of those persons having individual room air conditioners, half of them (50.0%) have two or more, and 20.8% have 3 or more individual room air conditioners. The median number of air conditioners is 1, and the average number is 1.8.

• In an average month, slightly more than half of the persons (53.5%) buy **fiction** books, and 82.3% buy **non-fiction** books. For fiction books the median is 1 and for non-fiction books the median is 2. The average number for **fiction** books is 1.5, and for **non-fiction** books the average is 2.2.

• About 5 out of 6 persons serve or use alcoholic beverages — beer, wine, liquor. Of those persons using or serving these beverages, 81.4% have domestic beer and ale, 69.4% have domestic wines, 68.3% Scotch whiskey, 68.0% bourbon, 58.7% gin, 44.7% liqueurs and cordials, 42.2% vodka, 41.7% imported wines, 37.1% brandy, 34.5% rum, 30.4% blended whiskey, 28.2% Canadian whiskey, 23.8% imported beer and ale, 17.9% rye, and 8.3% Irish whiskey.

How much do they like National Review?

• Almost two-thirds (65.3%) say that other family members regularly read the **National Review**. The median number of other family members regularly reading **National Review** is 1, and the average number is 1.6. More than 3 out of 5 (63.0%) say that they pass along their copy of **National Review** to persons outside of their immediate household.

• About 6 out of 7 (86.7%) said that advertising has been of assistance in selecting products bought. More than 9 out of 10 (91.5%) said that they read advertisements in **National Review**. Of those who read advertisements in **National Review**, about 6 out of 7 (86.8%) said that these advertisements have given them information which otherwise they might not have had. About 3 out of 5 (60.3%) said that these advertisements resulted in their purchasing a product or service.

When can you reach this prime audience?

Just as soon as you want to — you can start right now, in fact, simply by filling out and mailing the order blank on this page. At the very least, have your agency investigate *National Review's* potential for *your* advertising today. We invite you to compare our subscriber profile with that of any magazine in which your advertising now appears! Write or call Mr. Howard Long, Advertising Director, *National Review*, Inc., 150 East 35th Street, New York, New York, 10016, OR 9-7330.

WHAT WILL IT COST YOU?

Not nearly as much as you might think. For example, here are our current black-and-white rates:

	1X	4X	6X	13X	26X
1 Page	$900	$882	$864	$828	$756
2 Columns	720	706	691	662	605
1 Col. or	405	397	389	373	340
½ Col. Double					
½ Column	243	238	233	224	204
¼ Column	153	150	147	141	129
1 Inch	72	71	69	66	60

And here is our latest net paid circulation figure: 85,071, (as filed with the Audit Bureau of Circulation, subject to their audit, for six months ending December 31, 1964). Our own best estimate of sales for the December 29, 1964 issue is 100,000 copies-**plus.** Thus a very conservative projection of our subscriber and pass-along readership would be 300,000-plus.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

The Higher Learning for the Bantu

The Republic of South Africa has embarked upon an interesting and costly program of university education for young people of the Bantu tribes. Under the policy of apartheid, Bantu students no longer will be enrolled at the University of the Witwatersrand and other institutions for whites. Instead, three university colleges, under the supervision of the University of South Africa, have been established for Bantus.

Kirk

Recently this writer visited the Bantu University College of the North, at Turfloop, in the Transvaal. Three hundred Bantu young men and women are enrolled there, with present facilities for two hundred more. A larger and older college is in the Transkei, and a new one had been founded in Zululand. Together with those Bantu students still studying elsewhere, the total of Bantu undergraduates now is two thousand; and there are some three thousand Bantu college graduates in South Africa. (This is twice as many native graduates as there are in all the rest of Africa, south of the Sahara, put together.)

The college at Turfloop, with its pleasant and substantial buildings amid gardens and little boulder-heap hills, is a serious undertaking. Matriculants and candidates for degrees must meet the standards set by the University of South Africa—that is, the standards applied also to white candidates for admission to state university colleges.

Because of the comparatively small enrollments, the cost of instruction at the Bantu colleges is much higher, per capita, than at the university for whites. At the University College of the North, there is one faculty-member to every four Bantu students. Professors at the white universities complain, sometimes, at the large expenditure upon the Bantu foundations, arguing that the number of Bantu graduates has not justified the cost of separate colleges.

The curriculum at Turfloop centers upon the arts and pedagogy, although a school of pharmacy is being added, and faculties of medicine and law are contemplated. (In literature and law, the Bantus display considerable aptitude, but as yet have shown little scientific or technical bent. It was hoped to commence instruction in engineering and architecture, but only two undergraduates declared interest in those studies.)

Most of the Turfloop graduates will become teachers, social workers, laboratory technicians, and ministers. The demand for educated people is so strong, in the Transkei, the tribal reserves, and other Bantu areas, that every graduate is sure of good employment—indeed, the demand several times exceeds the supply—and there is no present danger of a Bantu "educated proletariat" of the type too common in many countries.

The majority of members of the staff are white, though several professors are Bantus—including the head of the most popular department, psychology. In considering applications for teaching posts, other qualifications being equal, Bantu candidates are given preference. Salaries sometimes are higher than at the white university colleges.

The courses are most respectable intellectually. Latin, Greek, and Hebrew are offered—which is more than one can say of a good many American colleges. All in all, the Bantu college standards are distinctly more impressive than those of nearly any American college or university for Negroes, at least until quite recently.

At Turfloop, keeping a benign eye on the college's progress, is Dr. W. W. M. Eiselen, Commissioner General for the Bantu of that region, a learned man and experienced civil servant who has been called "the architect of apartheid." Dr. Eiselen, far from being the Simon Legree of the ritualistic Liberal's fancy, has devoted much of his life to helping the Bantu, and steadily seeks larger governmental appropriations for Bantu education and for the employment of Bantu teachers, social workers, and technicians in the Bantu reserves.

By separation of the Bantus from white university students, Dr. Eiselen says, the quality of the Bantus' academic performance will be improved, for they will cease to feel like fish out of water, as they have felt at the University of the Witwatersrand, where 95 per cent of the students and the whole of the faculty are white. To escape a sense—and a condition—of inferiority, either the Bantus must have their own colleges, or go abroad. And the frequent experience of African students at British or American universities has not been a pleasant or very successful education: Nkrumah is an eminent product of such an educational pilgrimage.

To the doctrinaire Liberal, including some in South Africa, it seems outrageous that Bantu students should not be "integrated" into white universities. Yet surely the fundamental question here is this: by what means can the Bantu, or any other "native" people, best obtain a decent education? If young Bantus of intellectual promise labor ineluctably under great handicaps at the white institutions, it is to their own advantage that colleges be established where they can do their best, along with people they understand. It is worth noting that protests against the Bantu colleges come almost wholly from *white* South Africans.

Unlike the British universities established in India, the South African Bantu colleges are not supplanting native higher education by European higher education: for the Bantu culture had, of course, no higher schooling. Nevertheless, as the time passes, the professor at the Bantu institutions may find it necessary to grow less formally "Western" and take more cognizance of Bantu social reality. With time and good fortune, much good for all Africa may come from this remarkable program.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Gnostics on a Train

This traveler wanted desperately to belong, but with his irrelevance syndrome plus a low awareness factor, it was clear he would never emerge

MARVIN R. O'CONNELL

It's no fun being on the outside. I may scoff at the lodge brother's sword and cocked hat, but deep down I'm jealous of him, because, deep down, like everybody else I'm a snob. I often imagine myself on a train where a man comes up to me, grasps my hand in a uniquely significant way, and makes a remark which sounds casual to everybody in the car but me. "I'm going east," he says. (Or sometimes he says, "I'm going west." It varies.) We look at one another narrowly, and then, as I murmur, "I am, too," I am suddenly flooded with a warm comradely feeling, with a sense of belonging to a special group which everybody in the train would like to belong to but can't. In fact, their inability to join our society gives me particular pleasure. But, then, just as we are about to begin a carefully coded conversation, the happy scene vanishes and I find myself back in the cold, indifferent world where I am just like everybody else. I suppose the difficulty is that I have never been quite able to dream up a suitable code.

Not long ago, I took a real train trip, hoping against hope that something would happen. And something did. Not that anybody came up to me to tell me what direction he was traveling in. It worked rather the other way around. At the end of the coach, in two seats facing each other, sat four people, three young men and a young woman. They were talking loudly and animatedly, and my heart skipped a beat when, as I listened, I realized that they were using a code. With the thought that fate had surely brought me to the verge of a special fulfillment, I got out of my seat and walked to the back of the coach until I stood looking down at them.

"I'm going east," I said shyly.

One of the men looked up. "That's good," he said. "Cardinal McIntyre lives out west."

"Pardon me?"

"Cardinal McIntyre is a racist," he said pleasantly. He was a short, thickset man, about thirty or perhaps a few years younger, and was badly in need of a haircut. He wore a yellow sport shirt, oxford grey trousers and suede loafers. He held in his hand a dog-eared paperback book whose title I made out as *Encountering the Encounter*. The man turned away from me and opened the book.

"Listen to this," he said. His three companions leaned forward expectantly. "It is only in the noösphere where one can, in an existential fashion, realize the brief moment of ecstasy in which involvement surges beyond the confines of experience and crashes against the shore of apathy and cant."

There was a reverential silence. Then the woman said, "What beautiful insight! Isn't it wonderful," she added brightly, "to be delivered from the syllogism."

Code of the Cant

I was struck by the intricacy of their code. Just when an outsider thought he understood what was being read or said, the meaning trailed away out of sight, like smoke rising from a cigarette. I repeated the woman's words admiringly and almost unconsciously. "What beautiful insight," I said.

"Do you really think so?" said the man who had first spoken to me. He looked at his three companions and then up to me. "Won't you join us?"

Those were the sweetest words I had ever heard. He and his companion squeezed over, and I sat down opposite the third man and the woman. I was suddenly flooded with a warm comradely feeling, with the sense of belonging to a special group which everybody in the train would have liked to belong to but couldn't. The man who had first spoken turned to me. "My name is Horace and I preside at assemblies in the Church of Rome."

"You mean you're a priest?" My enthusiasm must have been betrayed in my voice. "Well, how do you do, Father Horace. I'm a Catholic, too," and I started to bring from my pocket the rosary my mother had given me for my first Communion.

"Please." Horace grimaced, and the woman let out a long sigh. "Please, don't use those medieval expressions."

"You must have gone to a parochial school," the woman said to me. "You're obviously a victim of regimentation." She sighed again.

"Just call me Horace," Horace said. "Clerical terminology is an antiquated holdover of the post-Tridentine era." This remark, I sensed immediately, was part of the code, and so I nodded knowingly. (I hadn't had all those day dreams for nothing.) "Of course," I said.

"This," Horace continued, indicating the young man on the other side of him, "is George. George is a seminarian, a second-year philosopher."

"Down with the Curia," said George. He had short-cropped hair, eyes set rather widely apart, and soft white hands. He was afflicted with acne.

The couple across from me proved to be husband and wife: Charles was a graduate student of eight years' standing, and Rita taught third grade in a parochial school. Charles wore a thin goatee, and Rita thick, horn-rimmed glasses.

They all sat silent for a while after the introductions, and they watched me. Then Charles said, "What is it you really want? That is, what kind

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of involvement in your present existential situation?" He spoke with a soft lisp and looked straight over my left shoulder.

"I just want to belong," I answered.

George sucked in his lower lip, Rita sighed, and Horace ran his finger along the embroidered collar of his yellow sport shirt. "Well," Horace said, "I don't know. There are certain rules to observe, certain acclamations to be made."

"Acclamations?"

"Sure," said George. "Like Amen. You've got to get with Amen."

"Repetition is the key," Horace said. "You keep saying them over and over."

"Down with the Curia," I said.

"That's the idea." Horace looked at me with new interest.

'Antiquated Holdover'

"Clerical terminology is an antiquated holdover of the post-Tridentine era."

"Say, I think he's going to be all right," George said to Rita. She took off her glasses and said, "Ah."

"Cardinal McIntyre is a racist," I said more loudly and confidently.

"But isn't it Spellman who's the racist?" asked Charles, squinting slightly.

Rita put her glasses on and turned to her husband impatiently. "Really, Charles." She almost spat the words at him. "That was last week."

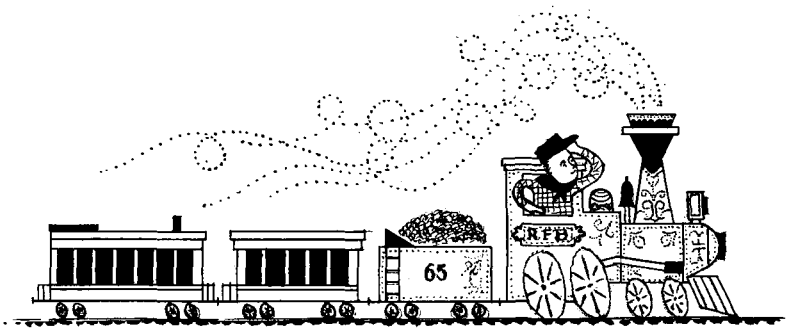
"You know, Charles," George observed, "Your awareness factor is extremely low. At this rate, you'll never emerge."

Charles took a leaflet from the breast pocket of his jacket and peered at it. "It is McIntyre this week," he said ruefully.

Horace said, "Let our new friend see the list." Charles handed me the leaflet. At the top of it was the title, "Slogans for the Week," with the date, and underneath was a list of items, numbered and in bold face type. Sure enough, the first one was, "Cardinal McIntyre is a racist." I read it aloud.

Rita took off her glasses again and smiled at me. "I like you," she said. "You repeat things nice. You have a genuine sense of community." Charles colored slightly.

"Now if you want to belong to our group," Horace said to me, "the first



step is to get these slogans down pat," and he shot a look of disdain at Charles.

"Karl Rahner," I read number 2, "is the greatest theologian since Buddha."

"How about that," said George, And he repeated it.

My heart sank. "I'm afraid I don't know anything about Mr. Rahner. I've never read anything of his."

"What's that got to do with it?" asked Horace.

"That's irrelevant," said Rita.

"Irrelevance," lisped Charles "is a vestige of the Counter Reformation."

"Who's got time to read books?" George demanded. "We have to keep the Johannine windows open. Karl Rahner is the greatest theologian since Buddha."

"Read the next item," said Horace.

"Liturgical plasticity is the primary objective of all men of good will." I must have shown my perplexity, because Horace looked at me sympathetically and said by way of explanation, "The opposite of liturgical plasticity is dry legalism and rubricism, a slavery to forms which leave an empty void in the hearts of the People of God."

Zither vs. Guitar

"Say, Horace," George asked, "is it true you prefer the zither to the guitar at the meetings of the Assembly?"

"Well," answered Horace, "I think that should be left to the primacy of the individual conscience. Just so you have bongo drums."

"I prefer the Jew's harp," said Rita. "It's so ecumenical."

"The trouble with the Jew's harp," Charles said, "is that you have to put the thing in your mouth and that makes it hard to acclaim. The same thing is true of a harmonica."

"Last Sunday," Horace said, "I presided at the Assembly from the side aisle. Next Sunday I'm going to preside from the vestibule. That way I'll have all the People of God in front of me looking the other way. That will insure their sense of community and help fill the empty void in their hearts."

"Now there's real plasticity," George commented approvingly.

"Yes, I've put wheels under the Table. You can roll it anywhere you like. We must never again be victimized by legalism."

Rita observed, "It would certainly help if we closed all the sectarian schools. They perpetuate the ghetto mentality."

"Have you closed your school yet, Horace?" Charles asked.

"No, the pastor insists on keeping it open despite the obvious fact that it has failed. Of course, what can you expect from a man who still clings to a formalism like Benediction, when everybody knows that it's only 700 years old and is traceable to the irrational reaction against Arianism."

"I thought that was a midrash," said Charles, blinking twice.

"Oh, Charles," Rita exclaimed, "for Covenant's sake, can't you keep anything straight? Midrash is something that didn't happen at all. Like the three kings."

"Oh," said Charles.

"No wonder you can't pass your language requirement."

Horace seemed not to have heard this exchange. "What can you expect from a pastor who for 35 years has been obsessed with duty days, Communion calls, confessions schedules, hospital visitations, sermon preparation (yes, he still calls homilies sermons), marriage counseling, catechizing, finances, maintenance, and worst of all convert classes made up of our Separated Brethren who also

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have the Word." George shook his head in disgust. "Maybe I can sum it up best," Horace continued, "by reminding you that when he built the plant he named it after St. Philomena. Can you beat that in the age that has produced Hans Kung?"

"Hans Kung is the greatest theologian since Buddha," said Charles. He looked around hopefully, but nobody paid any attention to him.

"What did your pastor think of the new name you suggested?" asked Rita.

"I don't communicate with him. He doesn't have any insights." He paused and looked wistfully at the ceiling of the coach. "But what a beautiful name: the Assembly of the Dialogue. Do you like it?" he asked me.

"Cardinal McIntyre is a racist," I answered.

"I thought you would," Horace said. "What's next on the list?"

I read from the leaflet, "The full impact of Martin Luther's insight into the genuine existential situation of divine revelation is now clear." Again I was puzzled.

"You see," George said kindly, "there couldn't be a Reformation if Martin Luther lived today."

"Why not?" I asked. I knew immediately that I had said the wrong thing. Rita turned quite pale, and Charles looked wide-eyed straight at me. I felt my face get very hot.

"Did you use the word, 'why'?" Horace spoke softly.

"Well," I stuttered, "what I meant was that I always thought Luther was a heretic." George hissed. Desperate now among all the black looks, I went on wildly. "Perhaps I'm wrong, but I thought Luther had said some things that aren't true."

'Dessicated Scholastic'

"True!" snorted George, leaning toward me across Horace. "True! What are you anyway, some kind of dessicated scholastic?"

"How irrelevant can you get!" demanded Rita, shaking her little fist at me.

"I think he has an irrelevance syndrome," said Charles.

"It may be worse than that," Horace said solemnly.

"Worse?" the others chorused.

"Please listen to me," I said. "I didn't mean to say anything irrelevant. I only wanted to know what this slogan means."

"That's what I thought," said Horace. He addressed Rita, Charles and George and gestured toward me. "You heard him. He wants to know what the slogan means." Horace paused, and the silence grew unbearable. "Down with the Curia," I said, but the plaintive tone in my voice made no impression on them.

"He's guilty of non-historical orthodoxy and triumphalism," said George after a minute.

"No, George," answered Horace. "Your appreciation of the primacy of love has made you too easy on him. I'm afraid it's juridicism."

"Oh, no!" screamed Rita, and she scrambled past me into the aisle. The three men followed her to the other end of the coach, ignoring my pleas that I really hadn't meant to ask why, that I took it all back. I was too late. Horace snatched the leaflet out of my hand as he went by, and so I never got the chance to hear them discuss the fourth slogan of the week: "The present Roman legislation on birth control reflects the accumulated guilt feelings of a celibate clergy." I have the feeling that this would have been even more interesting than the one on liturgical plasticity.

But it was not to be. I sank deep into depression as my journey continued, and by the time I returned home I was on the verge of nervous collapse. It's bad enough to be on the outside, but once you've experienced the taste of the inner circle, it's dreadful beyond description to be thrust out again.

The other day I bought a cocked hat. Now I'm saving up for a sword.

Management Talk

Two Thai merchants met recently in downtown Bangkok. After polite inquiries into each other's families, the talk turned to politics . . .

Norodum: Whadaya think of the Big West Wind these days, Phumy?
Phumfil: (adjusting an exquisite gold elephant on his lapel) Just unloaded all my Standard of New Jersey, that's what.
Norodum: That bad, eh?
Phumfil: You know Amphit, the guy who owns the big hi-fi store in Canal Street? He's selling all his Presleys and Beatles at half price.
Norodum: What's he taking in?
Phumfil: Classic Chinese opera, Ming label.
Norodum: (unconvinced) Y'know, my wife thinks the big West Wind really means it this time. She says I should hold on to all my ivy league—even buy more Thom McAn. You think she's nuts?
Phumfil: My friend, in my opinion your wife, a true beauty, is off her rocker, lost her trolley, and is stranded wheels up in the Grand Canal.
Norodum: That bad, eh?
Phumfil: Look at it this way. In Luang Prabang, suddenly everybody's eating Cantonese. Cambodia's going gaga over the Shanghai sheath, and just last week my Saigon distributor saw two Ho Chi Minh beards in the Ding Dong Opium Den. Why fight it?
Norodum: But what about the soldier the Big West Wind's got in there? My wife says . . .
Phumfil: That's no soldier, that's a tailor.
Norodum: (triumphantly) Now I gotcha! Taylor's his name, not his profession.
Phumfil: You watch, Buster. Taylor or tailor, they're eating fortune cookies, not fig newtons, on the delta.
Norodum: You think I better stock up on black lacquer boxes?
Phumfil: Look at it this way. We did business with the Japs. What are the Red Chinese but Japs—give or take 700 million?
Norodum: Come to think of it, 1943 *was* a great year. Remember how they went crazy over my British argyles?
Phumfil: You mean the ones you had made in Hong Kong? (both double up with laughter)
Norodum: (wiping his eyes) Those were great days, Phumy.
Phumfil: Now you're talkin', buddy boy. Just keep in mind those words spoken by the great Confucius: nobody ever made a mint selling ideology.

W. H. von Dreele

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bastiat for '65

HENRY HAZLITT

There has long been an urgent need for a new English edition of Bastiat. It is not merely that the previous translation by P. J. Stirling was stiff and outmoded; even this had become unavailable except in a shabby physical form. Now, at last, we have freshly translated and carefully edited editions of the *Sophisms*, the *Essays*, and the *Harmonies*, presented in a physical garb worthy of their contents.

Why has Bastiat lain so long neglected, scornfully referred to by the overwhelming majority of academic economists? In part, no doubt, because of his shortcomings. He made no major contribution to economic theory. But most of the disdain of Bastiat, I am convinced, is precisely the result of his merits. He was one of the most brilliant advocates that ever lived of free trade, economic freedom and *laissez-faire*. And as these ideals have become more and more unfashionable among our present generation of interventionists, Keynesians, and socialists, Bastiat has become unfashionable with them.

An example of the typical academic judgment is that of the late Joseph A. Schumpeter in his massive *History of Economic Analysis*, published in 1954. Contrasting Bastiat's more ambitious *Harmonies* with his previous *Sophisms* and *Essays*, Schumpeter writes: "It is simply the case of the bather who enjoys himself in the shallows and then goes beyond his depth and drowns. . . . I do not hold that Bastiat was a bad theorist. I hold that he was no theorist." But Bastiat "was no theorist" only in the sense that in value theory he made no advance on the doctrines he had acquired from Adam Smith, Say, and Ricardo. He never shook off, for example, the classical cost-of-production theory of value, or even the labor theory of value; but then, neither did any other economist (with the exception of the neglected German, von Thünen) until the marginal or subjective theory of value was expounded independently by Jevons and Menger some twenty years after Bastiat's death.

But what Bastiat saw, he saw and presented with brilliant clarity. Schumpeter's judgment of Bastiat is not only ungenerous but unintelligent, and for the same reason that it is unintelligent to deride an apple tree for not bearing bananas. Bastiat was not primarily an original economic theorist. What he was, beyond all other men, was an economic pamphleteer, the greatest exposer of economic fallacies and the most powerful champion of free trade on the European Continent. Even Schumpeter (almost in a slip of the tongue) concedes that if Bastiat had not written the *Economic Harmonies* "his name might have gone down to posterity as the most brilliant economic journalist who ever lived." What "might have" is doing there I do not know. It has so gone down.

Bastiat was the master of the *reductio ad absurdum*. The most famous is his "Petition of the Candlemakers" and their allied industries for protection against the unfair competition of the sun. The Chamber of Deputies is asked to pass a law requiring the closing of all windows and chinks by which the light of the sun can enter houses. The blessings that will result from this, in an increased business for the candlemakers, are then all solemnly itemized, and the argument conducted according to the recognized principles of all protectionist arguments. The petition of the candlemakers is devastating. It is a flash of pure genius, a *reductio ad absurdum* that can never be exceeded, sufficient in itself to assure Bastiat immortal fame among economists.

I did not realize quite how astonishingly alive Bastiat's work is today until I checked back on his famous aphorism: *L'état, c'est la grande fiction à travers laquelle tout le monde s'efforce de vivre aux dépens de tout le monde*, to see how it was rendered in these volumes. ("The

state is the great fictitious entity by which everyone seeks to live at the expense of everyone else.") I fell to reading the whole essay, "The State," in which the aphorism occurs. And I was reminded that in 1848, the year in which Bastiat's essay was written, the French politicians and parties had already anticipated in their demands practically everything in the State of the Union Message by President Johnson just a few weeks ago. Wrote Bastiat:

"The hundred thousand tongues of press and rostrum all cry out to the state at once: 'Organize labor and the workers, root out selfishness, repress

---

Economic Sophisms, by Frédéric Bastiat. Translated and edited by Arthur Goddard. Van Nostrand, $6.75

Selected Essays on Political Economy, by Frédéric Bastiat. Translated by Seymour Cain and edited by George B. de Huszar. Van Nostrand, $7.50

Economic Harmonies, by Frédéric Bastiat. Translated by W. Hayden Boyers and edited by George B. de Huszar. Van Nostrand, $11.50

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the insolence and tyranny of capital . . . irrigate the plains . . . establish model farms . . . feed the babies, instruct the young, relieve the aged, equalize the profits of all industries, lend money without interest to those who desire it . . . encourage art, train musicians and dancers. . . . The function of the state is to enlighten, to develop, to increase, to fortify, to spiritualize, and to sanctify the soul of a nation. Far from hitting us with new taxes, we demand that you eliminate the old ones. . . ."

And in response to these demands, which the revolutionists of 1848 clearly plagiarized from Johnson's Great Society of 1965, Bastiat patiently explains why the state cannot give anything to Paul without taking it from Peter, or from both—and why at least part of the plunder must remain in the state's own "porous and absorbent" hands.

Each of the three volumes, obtainable separately or together, has a new introduction—for the *Essays* by F. A. Hayek, for the *Harmonies* by Dean Russell, and for the *Sophisms* by the present writer. All economics scholars and friends of liberty should be grateful to the William Volker Fund for making this new edition of Bastiat possible.

Fiction

A Plague of Despair

GUY DAVENPORT

DORIS LESSING had published five long novels, five short novels, four collections of short stories, and a book of poems before, plausibly,

---

Children of Violence (Vols. I and II), by Doris Lessing. Simon and Schuster, $7.50

The Higher Animals, by H.E.F. Donahue. Viking, $4.95

Late Call, by Angus Wilson. Viking, $4.95

---

she bought controlling interest in a paper mill and began to whack out *Children of Violence*, the first six hundred pages of which are now before us—two volumes bound together, *Martha Quest* and *A Proper Marriage*. We are promised three more volumes. Alas. Needless to say, the undertaking is a family history, a drab family at that. The story is drably told, in the female manner, omitting nothing. Our heroine, Martha Quest, is the daughter of a South African farmer. She grows up, goes to Johannesburg or some such place, works in an office, falls in with people even duller than she is, gets engaged, married. Volume II chews its way through the marriage.

It is, for the reader, rather like being trapped by a pathological gossip who, with the intrepidity of a machine or a maiden aunt, goes on and on, recognizing no form except that of the continuum. The ordinary, potentially active mind of Martha Quest, we make out in the mileage of ambling narration, is like a seed very deeply buried in a dry and poor soil. Somewhere, it knows, there is light. But where, by the end of the second volume, it does not know. It does know that there is some new spirit in the world that is utterly different from the smug assumptions of the colonial mind. Whether Communism (as our heroine imagines) or some nameless spirit known in Europe and reflected in books and papers, this newness of mind is but dimly intuited in the intellectual wastes of Africa, and we leave our heroine frustrated and apprehensive and hankering. For what she will find in the nine hundred pages to come, such readers as interest themselves in the intellectual growth of an English colonial in Africa, female, white, and with a well turned ankle, can haunt the bookstores for her further adventures.

Mr. H. E. F. Donahue's *The Higher Animals* is also about the nameless terrors of our time, and, like Miss Lessing's study of a quest for spiritual resource and direction, is about a confused protagonist who would gladly live for something if only he could find it. Daniel Conn is The Full Graduate Student. For two centuries now our civilization has been educating clerks for offices that no longer exist, has been assiduously training a clergy that has no notion what it is supposed to do with its knowledge, its skills, its heritage. The professor cannot teach, the philosopher imparts no love of wisdom, the scholar, for want of another identity, imagines that he is a scientist, accordingly pretends that he is working with facts, and scrupulously suppresses his intelligence, which, he is told, is subjective. Conn works in a bookshop, that is, deals in the riches of the mind; his friends are the clerical minds of his community — journalists, professors, scholars. Left to themselves, these people are to be found agitating the components of a rich but pointless existence: books, sex, rivalries, good talk, alcohol.

Into this sophisticated frame Mr. Donahue introduces disturbing and alien forces, a house on fire in which a family of stubbornly proud people die, a gang of bandits from the hills of Kentucky, and several unintellectual types, a sailor, a nymphomaniac, the Chicago police, a faculty wife. The result is a complex exchange of understanding, character with character, until the protagonist is dislodged from his tight little cynicism. Just what he realizes at the outcome is difficult to say, for clarity is not this novel's foremost virtue.

Indeed, it is heartening to have Allen Tate's admission in a blurb that he found the book hard going, and what's tough for the mind of Allen Tate is apt to be treacherous footing for the rest of us. Mr. Donahue has built most of his exposition and all of his dialogue out of the trash of the graduate-school mind—literary tags, allusions, conundrums, poems, ritual skepticism, shallow responses, and the Babel of higher education. "The higher animals" of the title are examples of high and low behaviors in Darwin's sense of propriety, and they are as rapacious and cruel when they get going as the fiercest in Darwin's jungle. Their agony is that they know they are high animals acting low, and from this vantage Mr. Donahue requires that we look down, or up, to jackal

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and hyena who are perfectly innocent of how much their human characteristics are deplored by the advanced Mammalia.

Mr. Donahue is a clever writer, apparently without a shred of compassion, and with so little interest in human beings that we wonder what, besides a *flânerie* for the cut-glass phrase and certain clanging resonances from Romantic poetry, led him to write a novel at all.

Mr. Angus Wilson, in his seventh novel *Late Call*, touches the mean between Miss Lessing's soft, warm, and endless concern for humanity and Mr. Donahue's hard, refrigerated, and puzzled gaze at its self-contradictions. In the England of the dowdy lower middle class, of the suburban hotel and lace-curtain semi-detached, he isolates for our inspection a luckless fat woman who has suffered in her marriage (her husband is a blowhard, lazy, thieving, self-pitying lecher), in her hopes (she loses her job because of her husband), and in her children and grandchildren (her son has lost his wife and is losing his self control; her grandson is kept by a homosexual). She is an old woman as the novel commences. Slowly, and with an unfailing hand, Mr. Wilson shows us how this weak, confused woman begins again with incredible patience and strength to build for herself a purposeful life.

Mr. Wilson is an old-fashioned realist (he is a student of Zola and is not afraid to follow guidelines laid down by Dickens and George Eliot). He allows himself neither despair nor sentimentality, though he can describe both to perfection. He is interested solely to portray his characters in all their weakness. He shows us their strength, however meager, and lets us see how the will to live is a beneficent power that pulls upward from decay. There are six pages in the sixth chapter of this novel which, as far as I know, are unequalled in the writing of our time: a cadenza inserted into the narrative at just the point where a climax is welcome, bringing the slowly evolved theme to a brilliant focus. This is a quiet novel; it speaks with a strong but small voice, but its sincerity and truth are impressive. Its patient honesty is a triumph of the novelist's real business, which is to make us feel and see and understand.

The Face of Treason

GARRY WILLS

JUST AS THE FEMINISTS are telling us that women can do anything as well as men can, a decidedly feminine (*i.e.*, non-feminist) writer reminds us that women do some things immeasurably better. For a certain kind of reporting, the woman's gift for remembering what everyone wore at a party is the indispensable talent. And nowhere do we stand in greater need of this reporting than in the area of espionage. Trials and revelations and flights have not, even now, made us aware that there are spies among us, that this will very likely go down in history as the great age of espionage. Names like those of Alan Nunn May and Klaus Fuchs are well known. They have been brandished on the placards of protest that surge up in Trafalgar Square during its hebdomadal inundations. They have taken their place in the right-wing litany of names meant to convince others that spying is a fact of modern life. Yet all this is the reporting of *men*, who remember what arguments were used at a party, but forget what the disputants wore. Rebecca West's book places before us the substances that wore those names. It should be called The Face of Treason.

For years the author haunted the Old Bailey, during spy-trial after spy-trial, scrutinizing every defendant, each change of expression, each nervous tic, each prop brought to the service of a tottering pride. She came, day after day, to watch these men, who had risked everything in the shadowy back alleys of our century, as they were hauled resolutely into the light. And, though most of them passed through this ordeal without losing their wavering insubstantiality, she proves to have been their real nemesis. They were not really exposed by informers or lawyers or courts, but by the poise and plunge of that finicky pen in the spectator's gallery.

The New Meaning of Treason, by Rebecca West. Viking, $6.95

Espionage feeds on deception, on the exploitation of unreality, and it has many unconscious allies these days. Ironically, it even uses our common-sense feeling about the boundaries of reality. As Miss West remarks, we have firmly quarantined the spy in a literary Never Never Land, and we treat his appearance in lands with more vulnerable frontiers as an embarrassing exhalation of our own childishness. We are ashamed of being stalked by the penny dreadfuls. Men do not become spies in the language of our "realistic" world. One plays at spying, as one "plays house" or "plays pirates." If a real, certifiable dragon appeared to the exponents of this "scientific" view, they would be forced to deny the evidence of their senses out of a doctrinaire renunciation of Jules Verne. It takes the higher realism of this hard-headed woman to remind us what a deadly game the "playing at spies" really is. Indeed, the grumbling of English reviewers over this book resembles nothing so much as the surliness of children whose games are interrupted by reality in the form of a sharp-tongued guardian aunt.

THE DECEPTIVELY bland features of the traitor are etched by this literary aunt's acid pen in an enduring portrait. Others—including Lord Denning—refused to see the real face of treason in the neurotic handsomeness of Stephen Ward. (Lord Denning thought Ward surprisingly "improvident" in money matters because he kept no bank accounts and cashed his checks through untraceable private channels—a view of "improvidence" that would not be shared by our Internal Revenue officers.) In what will surely be the classic account of the imbroglio our newspapers thought of as "the Christine Keeler affair," which Miss West more aptly treats as the case of Ward-as-social-climber, she reveals what a suicidal world we live in when

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Answer the call!

Use the card facing this page to...

1) **Renew now** — at the regular rate, or at our long-term savings rate;
2) **Give a Short-term Gift**—or introduce a friend to **National Review** by giving him the card and urging him to subscribe with your recommendation;
3) **Enter Your Own Subscription** — if you yourself do not yet subscribe — at our special introductory rate, and save both time **and** money.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

social "acceptance" is based on a glamorous defiance of all social norms. It is no accident, she argues, that a charming scapegrace was the prime social catalyst around Lord Astor's pool; no accident that he should meddle, progressively, in the pandering of dangerous girls and of dangerous information; no accident that the Russians should seek out this flagrant symptom of the West's hatred of itself, nor that the "charmer" should turn viciously on his clients—Profumo and Astor—and try to destroy them with a calculated "naiveté." No accident, finally, that this despicable parasite should be romanticized by a civilization that has not learned its Peter Pan days are over. We are the victims of our own desire to escape responsibility, to avoid the adult shouldering of our heritage.

No refuge is left, here, for the apologists of irresponsibility. If they wheel into position the greatest weapon in their arsenal, that new Guy Fawkes to be shaken in our childish faces—*the* super-bogey-man, McCarthy—she calmly responds that all the spies she has studied would have been apprehended, before they had done harm, if security regulations long antedating McCarthy had been conscientiously administered. McCarthysim, she adroitly demonstrates, is the ugly but inescapable consequence of rampant Stephen Wardism. No wonder the children chafe under this aunt's scrutiny.

But even the acid incorruptibility of aunts falls short of omniscience. Miss West's interest in treason grew out of the postwar trials of Englishmen who had, one way or another, served Hitler. To them she devoted her original *Meaning of Treason* (1947), which is reproduced as the first part of this book. Of her original traitors, some were dithery Englishmen caught on the Continent at war's outbreak (it would have helped if she had included the famous case of P. G. Wodehouse); others were prisoners of war giving up gruel for girls; others—like her major specimen, William Joyce ("Lord Haw-Haw" of the broadcasts), were fascists before Munich, men who thought of themselves as Englishmen with a higher vision of England's welfare.

This part of the book reminds us that the witty Miss West is also the grand Dame Rebecca. She thinks Joyce was primarily anxious to escape that low rung on the English social ladder to which his birth and school and accent had restricted him. Fascism was a way for him to become the equal of Etonians. An inverted love of Eton drove him to help Hitler fire upon the products of its playing fields.

That analysis of Joyce's case may be the true one; and it works fairly well for Stephen Ward, and Pontecorvo, and the Burgess-Maclean case. But a Klaus Fuchs is a different matter. When the book moves out of the fascist era and into the Com-

Random Notes

● The Movies: Justice Shallow, remembering a night which he, Jack Falstaff, and Jane Nightworke had spent in a windmill fifty years before, remarks, with shaking elbows, to his fellow catchpoll, "Hah, Cousin Silence, that thou hadst seene that, that this Knight and I have seen: hah, Sir John, said I well?" And Falstaff replies: "We have heard the Chymes at mid-night, Master Shallow." Orson Welles is in Spain translating into film his *Chimes at Midnight,* a concoction of the Falstaff parts of the Henry plays and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* which he did as a play in Dublin five years ago. The only words not Shakespeare's will be the historian Hollingshed's. Keith Barker plays Prince Hal; John Gielgud, Henry IV. Jeanne Moreau is Doll Tearsheet, and Margaret Rutherford is Mistress Quickly. Word has it that Welles regards the production as his masterpiece, and there is said to be a bedroom scene between La Tearsheet and Sir Jack which, as *Variety* puts it, "will make *Tom Jones* look like a kindergarten documentary." And when Welles finishes this stint as Falstaff, he's off to the other end of the Mediterranean to stomp around the beaches as Long John Silver.

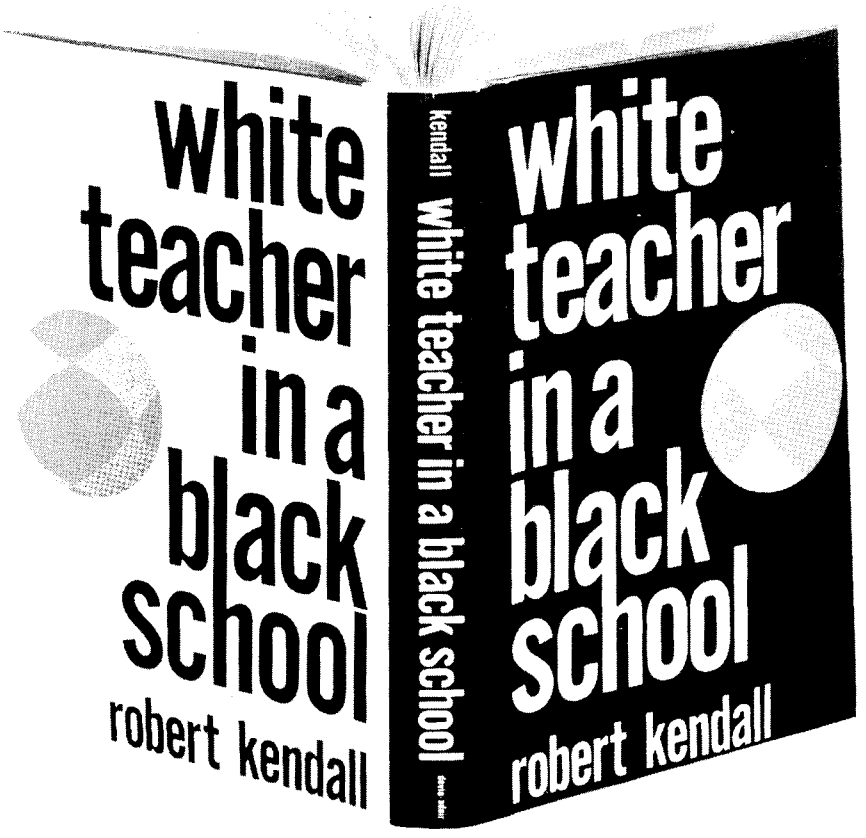
Boris Karloff has not impersonated a monster for thirty years, but resumes his fangs, fright wig, etc., for an American International film called *The House at the End of the World,* now being shot in England. . . . In India a biography of Mohandas K. Gandhi goes before the cameras. The filming is expected to take all year.

● Heigh Ho: The Philadelphia Social Science Forum, raging for its sixth year now, offers for February (hard upon a winter program of SANE and American Institute for Marxist Studies speakers) a symposium on "Racism: Its Cause and Cure," featuring Rev. Kibby of the Council of Liberal Churches, Harry Levitan, "noted Civil Rights advocate," and Henry Winston of the Communist Party, USA. Tickets are $1.50 for the well-to-do, 50 cents for children and for the unemployed.

● Books: The late Dame Edith Sitwell's long-awaited autobiography, *Taken Care Of,* will be published by Atheneum this spring. Its first sentence is: "'You were an exceedingly violent child,' said my mother without any animus." The book will be as interesting for its glimpses of the great and memorable as for its account of Dame Edith's sprightly career. And the wars—with D. H. Lawrence and F. R. Leavis and many another—are carried on with as much gusto as ever. . . . Maginel Wright Barney, Frank Lloyd Wright's sister, has written a memoir of their childhood in Wisconsin, *The Valley of the God-Almighty Joneses,* to be published by Meredith Press in April ($4.95). . . . In May, Crown Publishers will issue the Countess of Harewood's and Ronald Duncan's *Classical Songs for Children,* the words and music of 81 songs, ranging from the seventeenth century to Benjamin Britten, Kodaly, and Poulenc ($4.95). . . . One learns in Elizabeth Longford's *Queen Victoria: Born to Succeed,* which Harper has just published, that when the hard-to-amuse sovereign complimented the Rev. Charles Dodgson on *Alice in Wonderland* and hoped to see more of his writing, he sent her his *Syllabus of Plane Algebraic Geometry.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Raw, Blunt Book


white teacher in a black school
robert kendall
kendall white teacher in a black school
white teacher in a black school
robert kendall

When The Conservative Book Club sent this book to its membership a few weeks ago, it said – "We make this prediction, categorically and with no qualification: *White Teacher in a Black School* will be the most talked about book of 1965. And the most widely attacked. It hits unerringly at the raw nerves of Liberalism. The Establishment will see this book as a menace – because they know it will arouse the slumbering consciences of the American people. It has the impact of a sledgehammer."

What Readers Say About WHITE TEACHER IN A BLACK SCHOOL

The content of this book should strike horror in the hearts of any parents of white children in integrated schools, and be cause for concern for all decent thinking Americans.
–Mrs. A. L. B., Pineville, N.C.

This was one of the best books I have read. It not only brings out many heretofore unknown facts about the racial situation in our schools, but also many of the "progressive" disadvantages. Being a teacher myself I can readily appreciate Mr. Kendall's book.
–G. R. O'C., Grosse Pte. Wds., Mich.

This book has been everything it was said to be. Every liberal politician. civil rights leader. and progressive educator should read it. Is this the reason *their* children, attend private schools?
–E. W. M., Brooklyn, New York

I'm glad someone had the courage to write the book *and* publish it. It is time we stopped sweeping such conditions under the rug. They certainly don't vanish by looking the other way.
–G. A. C., Hollywood, Calif.

Indubitably, the most informative book on *racial truth* that has appeared since Carleton Putnam's "Race and Reason". It should be read by every school board in America. Mr. Kendall deserves the Nobel Prize for this powerful document.
–F. H. T., Hazel Park, Mich.

The author has handled expertly a situation which is beyond human conception unless you have lived with it. He is to be commended. *–J.C., Hollywood, Calif.*

Appalling conditions. A blockbuster of a book. A terrifying book. A book I couldn't do without. More than my expectations.
–C. N. C. F., Toronto, Canada

The author has presented true, unadulterated facts resulting from the effects of "progressive education" in our schools. Many of the situations described are prevalent in Jr. Highs and even *Elementary Schools* today. I am a teacher and we need the help of an enlightened public.
–H. R. F., Oakland, Calif.

This is a fine book and I recommend it. It should be of particular value to people in public life and to educators, as well as to the general reader.
–N. F. McG., Chapman, Ala.

It should be read by all parents with school children and every teacher.
–F. P. G., Pauls Valley, Okla.

Southern white teachers would never subject themselves to such deplorable conditions as this man did. From that standpoint, it is revolting.
–Mrs. M. B., Jackson, Miss.

The book aptly illustrates some of the major fallacies within the philosophy and techniques of avant garde education.
–W. O., Nellis AFB, Nevada

A phenomenally engrossing, absorbing work – you're to be congratulated for your "guts" in publishing it!!
–C. V. C., Fredericksburg, Va.

It brings the problem clearly into the forefront for complete analytical process. A book that every American citizen should read. Here was an author who told the truth. *–S. R. K., Portland, Ore.*

Order Today Price $4.95

The Devin-Adair Co., Publishers
23 East 26th Street
New York, N. Y. 10010

Please send me_____copies of **White Teacher in a Black School** at $4.95 each.

I enclose $_____.

Name.....

Address.....

.....

(Please add sales tax where necessary)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

munist, things become too complex to be lumped under a single "meaning of treason." Dame Rebecca tries to subsume her new spies under some new rubrics—especially that of the scientist. But, as one might expect, she is soon telling us that the whole trouble with scientists is that they think they deserve higher social recognition than they receive. In the end, the meaning of Fuchs is suspiciously like the meaning of Joyce—as, indeed, it must be to justify the inclusion of both men in a book bearing this title. It is all too pat. But, luckily, we can always return to the author's deft reporting when her theorizing has been stretched too thin. Others will better analyze the meaning of treason (if the traitors give us time). But no one else will paint these particular traitors' portraits with more economy or accuracy.

Art

The Invention of Space

HUGH KENNER

WE GOT our civilization, as Euclid got his geometry, by making, millenia ago, certain assumptions: that rooms and pictures should be rectangular and the walls of buildings vertical; that flautist and orator alike should arrange their meanings sequentially; that structure implies symmetry and symmetry an axis; that nature is uniform; that there is great virtue in the circle.

The Eternal Present. Vol. II: The Beginnings of Architecture, by Siegfried Giedion. Pantheon, $12.50

To convince us, against our intense psychic resistance, that such familiar themes are in fact assumptions and not divine laws, has been the work of four centuries' revolutionaries, from Kepler, say, to Wittgenstein. A set of assumptions specifies a universe, and most of us switch today without effort from cosmos to cosmos according to the activity at hand. Euclid's geometry orders our building lots, but Einstein's our cyclotrons. We predict eclipses by assuming, with Kepler, that the earth goes around the sun, and navigate the *Queen Mary* by assuming, with Ptolemy, that the sun goes around the earth. We know which way is up when we are rope-walkers; we no longer ask when we are astronauts.

Our syntax assumes, geometrizing as it goes, that the very elements of thought lie arranged in space, to be linked with diagramming prepositions: beside, above, in, over, to, from, against. Our prose and verse have for fifty years been learning other principles of organization. In front of Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* we agree that the colors and shapes of three-dimensional space can govern an imaginary event. In front of Picasso's *Guernica* we accept without dismay a no-color, no-perspective restructuring of a real event. We are not mad, merely versatile, as has been no previous people.

We are ceasing, in short, to be what we were for two thousand years, post-classical men, so far have we qualified post-classical man's belief in the immutability of Greek

forms of thought. And as the grip of Euclid and Pythagoras weakens, we are learning not only that their assumptions are assumptions, but that they were inventions, at particular moments in history, of men bent on particular purposes.

Aided by this new learning, we are seeing the Greek world itself with new eyes. We are also learning to see worlds older than Greece, the worlds of Egypt, of Mesopotamia, of the Aurignacian cave-draughtsmen, free from the notion that the inhabitants of these worlds were attempting, with insufficient skill, to achieve Greek norms.

Such new eyes are sensitized by the arts of our own time: "artists are the antennae of the race." Siegfried Giedion's eyes, for instance, unlike those of the historian whose fetish is the naive amassment of data, were trained by the painting of cubists and post-impressionists, which defines and challenges the very assumptions the naive historian is unaware that he makes. A friend of James Joyce (who returned to Giedion's Zurich to die), he finds it natural to intuit, with Joyce, the relevance to every mental operation of each shift in the premises of any. In *Mechanization Takes Command* (1948) he plotted the relationship between the mechanization of death in slaughter-houses and in movie-houses. A time's imaginative experience is total.

In the two volumes of *The Eternal Present (The Beginnings of Art* and *The Beginnings of Architecture*) Professor Giedion takes for granted our ability to see cave-drawings as something other than fumblings toward Leonardo, and Egyptian sculpture as something other than a heavy premonition of Praxiteles. Dilettantism, of course, has long taken such versatility for granted. But Giedion exacts something more arduous than connoisseurship: nothing less than a painstaking effort to grasp the intuitions of the universe which such art and architecture served.

Between cave times and temple times there occurred, for instance, *the invention of the vertical,* one of man's most daring assumptions. "The selection of one dominant direction is foreign to both prehistoric and primitive man. Prehistoric man did not divide the world into components, though certain elements became prominent that were never renounced throughout primeval art: multisignificance and transparency, an absence of concern for past and future, and a freedom of disposition within a setting of apparent chaos.

"Before the advent of recorded history, a far-reaching change occurred in the development of vision: instead of all directions being equal, the vertical became dominant. This was nothing less than an optical revolution."

This revolution, which in recent decades has been responsible for the Empire State Building and Frank

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lloyd Wright's tower in Oklahoma, generated during its earliest thrust toward heaven the cephaliform steles of Easter Island, the menhirs of Brittany, and the obelisks which architects of the New Kingdom placed in front of monumental pylon walls: each one, in Giedion's phase, "an upward glance transmuted to stone." Thus temple architecture whether in Karnak or in Salisbury is a statement about the meaning of an upward glance.

But statements differ. The lines of the great spire at Salisbury converge toward a distant, transcendental heaven; the vertical gestures at Karnak are bound back to earth by sheer massiveness, circumscribing a life-beyond which was a life-on-earth eternalized: an eternal wandering.

RITE PRECEDES architecture. Egypt was shaped by the rite of the wandering deity. Inside the Egyptian temple, blocked off with ritual processions, the god rested during his wanderings from place to place. The people glimpsed him only when he was being carried. The temple therefore, not being something to go into but something before which to feel awe, was (like the pyramid) an object set in space. Its walls, unlike those of the Roman Pantheon, do not shape internal space; rather, they dominate the space outside.

Indeed they *create* the space outside. If there were no temple we should stand, not precisely nowhere, but in the hunter's world where all directions are equal. Space, with a from and to, a mass, a menace, a without defined by volumes that enclose the inaccessible within, was a thing invented, a sensation invented, a novel human experience undergone in Luxor and Karnak and still accessible before Rockefeller Center's perforated slabs. The pyramids pushed brute spatial externality to a mathematical ultimate. Such artifacts determined what it felt like to be alive in Egypt. They were themselves generated by convictions about what being alive meant.

Space, the nature of architectural space, has occupied Professor Giedion's imagination since the first of his seminal books, *Space, Time and Architecture* (1941). In *The Eternal Present* his long preoccupation with what it feels like to frequent spaces controlled by the buildings of men permits him to illuminate data long familiar. We have stared for years at drawings of Greek temples without realizing the meaning of the fact that they were not buildings to go into. These windowless cells surrounded by stone columns were the focal points of ceremonious processions, for if the gods no longer wandered the people did, on ritual visits to majestic images.

And "the Greek temple stands like a crystal in space," golden marble against blue aether, intense on its hill, gathering to itself the miraculous light, light enhanced by the very shadows of porticoes and entablatures which were the chief Greek modifications of Egyptian practice. They are shrines for the geometrizing gods.

Such temples, though thrust onto hilltops, are still cavelike within; this is "the umbilical cord that linked historic to primeval times." It was when the Roman emperor's throne-room came to symbolize the cosmos that *interior* space preoccupied architects, and Christianity, an intensely Roman thing, drew from the Roman discovery of interior space its ways of creating sacred buildings meant to draw worshippers inside: into an inside penetrated by divinity. In Byzantium, in Ravenna, in Chartres, the light enters and shapes what we experience; diffracted by mosaics, filtered by colored glass, sunlight dispersed and modeled emulates the multifarious presence of the Light of the World.

Verticality was invented. External space shaped by volumes was invented. Interior space was invented, an experience shaped by shadows, angles, vaults. In an intensely interesting chapter Professor Giedion explains how "the religious structure of the first high civilizations was founded upon the discovery of the human form and the human face." For the human form was invented—made accessible, that is, to imagination—and millenia after the imagination had laid hold of animals. The miraculous bulls of Lascaux were limned by men who contented themselves with human stick-figures.

Invention of this sort, anonymous and unarticulated, shapes everything else that men do. Professor Giedion, the historian of the anonymous, has operated for thirty years with a scope and authority matched only by Etienne Gilson, the historian of syste-

nettle creek
luxury is really irresistible!
Create a new elegance in your home with Nettle Creek custom bedspreads, window treatments and boudoir furniture. Send one dollar for our new 68 page color decorating guide "Beautiful Bedrooms/Beautiful Windows."
Nettle Creek Industries Dept. NR-2 Richmond, Indiana

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Have YOU read this vital book?

Suicide OF THE West

THE MEANING AND DESTINY OF LIBERALISM

by JAMES BURNHAM

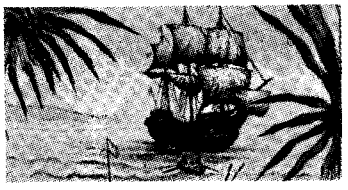
"This somber, brilliantly written book attempts to fix the blame for the suicidal 'contraction of the West' over the last 50 years upon Liberalism, chiefly in the United States. . . It is, in my judgment, a strikingly successful job."—EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER, *National Review*

$5.95 at all bookstores

THE JOHN DAY COMPANY
Sales Office:
200 Madison Ave., N. Y. 10016

Port Royal Under Six Flags

By Katherine Jones



In 1520, blown off course by a tempest, Lucas de Vasques de Ayllon and companion discovered the Port Royal Islands which lay off the Atlantic Coast between Charleston, S. C. and Savannah, Georgia.

"Port Royal Under Six Flags" recreates through the use of Journals, Letters and other original writings, the dramatic history of these deceptively serene looking islands which have been claimed in turn by six nations, Spain, France, Great Britain, Scotland, the United States and the Confederacy.

Illustrated with old prints and photographs bringing it up to the present day, this is an excellent book of Carolina history.

BEAUFORT BOOK SHOP
808 Bay Street
Beaufort, S. C. 29902

Please send me ..... copies of "PORT ROYAL UNDER SIX FLAGS", By Katherine M. Jones, at $5.00 each.

Payment Enclosed ☐
Please Bill Me ☐
Add 3% Sales Tax in South Carolina.

Name .....

Address .....

City .....

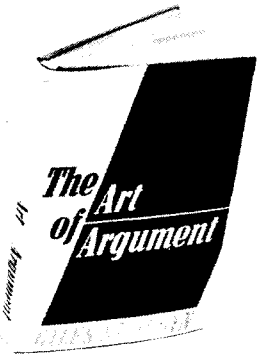
matic thought. Like Gilson's, his formulations of what we have never quite clearly known are of diagnostic use to a time when it is commonplace not quite to know what we experience. It is our anonymous experience that we know least about: our experience with what is omnipresent but never verbalized.

If we would like to read our time as archaeologists may one day read it, we may turn eyes trained by Giedion's on the government buildings in Washington. It is customary to call them public and neo-Roman. They are not. They are religious and Egyptian: blank menacing volumes in external space, closing off the dim rites of bureaucracy. A government that trusted its people, and a people who trusted their government, would have shaped, like the Christian churches, interior and external space simultaneously. Wright did that, and Buckminster Fuller does it, and neither has ever been entrusted with a government building.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

REGICIDE AT MARSEILLE, by Tibor Eckhardt (The American Hungarian Library and Historical Society, New York, $4.50). This book deals with a crucial period of prewar power conflict in Central Europe. Mr. Eckhardt does well to examine it in the light of King Alexander's assassination in 1934. The study, fascinatingly presented through the author's personal participation as a prominent Hungarian diplomat, has several merits: it makes the many-cornered wrangle among Laval, Mussolini, Hitler, Benes, Eden, etc. crystal clear; it accords the necessary attention to personalities, ideologies, and interests, sordid as well as honorable; and it casts a much-needed light on the relationship between France and the Little Entente, and on Hungary's role as a whipping boy when Laval's and Benes' various plans threaten collapse. Some weaknesses in organization of the book may make readers spatially distant from the events, feel it all to be a hopeless imbroglio to be dismissed as "Balkan politics"; and further, the author repeatedly returns to the episode of the Yugoslavian king's assassination, thereby creating an otherwise avoidable

HOW TO ARGUE AND WIN!



Did you ever come out second best in a discussion...see your proposal voted down ...lose a raise or sale...**when all the facts were on your side?**

Don't ever let it happen again!

In his new book, THE ART OF ARGUMENT, Giles St. Aubyn shows you how to nail your opponents' appeals to prejudice and emotion for what they are. You learn how to think clearly . . . arrange your thoughts **logically** . . . present **convincingly,** whether verbally or in writing, formally or informally.

Infinitely more useful for most people than a post-graduate course in logic, St. Aubyn's approach is excitingly easy to master. It is based on situations which arise almost daily in family and business life, in conferences and meetings at church, lodge and PTA groups.

Once you learn to spot "special pleadings" and "emotive terms" in the argument of your adversary, there are very simple ways to overcome them with irrefutable reason.

Learn, too, how to separate facts from empty words in political platforms, newspaper stories, advertisements. How to judge **impartially** the pros and cons of tax reduction, racial equality, cigarette smoking, Medicare. And see how this mastery of logic benefits you in every phase of life!

TRY THIS VITAL NEW APPROACH TO SUCCESS—AT OUR RISK!

Read **The Art of Argument** and put its commonsense principles to use. You must find yourself winning support for your every constructive aim, **or simply return the book after 30 days for immediate refund.** You risk nothing! Mail only $2.95 now to

EMERSON BOOKS, Inc., Dept. 303P
251 W. 19th St. New York 11, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

impression of chronological confusion. But these minor technical weaknesses are largely compensated by Eckhardt's virtue as a historian drawing lessons applicable today. He shows that small countries are almost invariably sacrificed to big-power appetites, and that the so-called "open diplomacy," embodied in the League of Nations and the UN, leads only to greater hypocrisy, not to more noble moral conduct. T. MOLNAR

THE TYRANNY OF SCHOOLING: *An Inquiry Into the Problem of 'Stupidity,'* by Lewis Anthony Dexter (Basic Books, $4.50). To a conservative reader this is an exceptionally unassuming book. Professor Dexter opposes the idea of universal compulsory public schooling—and, therefore, so what? We all do, don't we? But Dexter manages to enlarge the framework of discussion so that the conservative critique joins the Liberal critique in the waste bin, leaving the Dexter critique, which is something to behold: to wit, that the unquestioned adoration of academic intellectuality, as a cultural obsession, works to the disadvantage of the "stupid" (or the "high-grade moron"). The conservative critique fails to win a mass audience because it bemoans the plight of the minority who are scholastically gifted, and the Liberal critique has no mass following because most folks know (from birth?) that an acquaintance with Shakespeare has nothing to do with good carpentry. Dexter thinks that public education has become a "sacred cow" that should be, to put it politely, gored. He wishes death to the spawning tribe of state-supported junior colleges and local colleges, and he opens the doors of the world to masses of children who couldn't care less about scholastic niceties. Intelligence, he says, isn't necessarily a function of readin' 'n writin'. So why spend these quadribillions trying to make readin' 'n writin' universal, especially when the system introduces tension in young kids where tension need not have been introduced? Should *everybody* go to college? Dexter takes note of labor union practices, child labor laws, political realities. He's fearless, and knowledgeable. His book stakes out the Great Divide.

W. F. RICKENBACKER

LEADING CONTENDERS

National Book Awards

The decisions of the judges for the 1965 National Book Awards will be announced in March. Meanwhile, these are among the books by American authors published in the United States during 1964 which the judges regard as among the most distinguished:

FICTION

LOUIS AUCHINCLOSS: The Rector of Justin (Houghton Mifflin)
SAUL BELLOW: Herzog (Viking)
JOHN HAWKES: Second Skin (New Directions)
RICHARD E. KIM: The Martyred (Braziller)
WALLACE MARKFIELD: To An Early Grave (Simon & Schuster)
VLADIMIR NABOKOV: The Defense (Putnam)
ISAAC BASHEVIS SINGER: Short Friday (Farrar, Straus)
Judges: Richard Gilman, R. W. B. Lewis, Bernard Malamud

POETRY

BEN BELITT: The Enemy Joy (University of Chicago)
JOHN BERRYMAN: 77 Dream Songs (Farrar, Straus)
JAMES DICKEY: Helmets (Wesleyan University)
JEAN GARRIGUE: Country Without Maps (Macmillan)
GALWAY KINNELL: Flower Herding on Mount Monadnock (Houghton Mifflin)
ROBERT LOWELL: For the Union Dead (Farrar, Straus)
WILLIAM MEREDITH: The Wreck of the Thresher (Knopf)
THEODORE ROETHKE: The Far Field (Doubleday)
Judges: Howard Moss, May Swenson, Allen Tate

ARTS AND LETTERS

ERIC BENTLEY: Life of the Drama (Atheneum)
ROBERT BRUSTEIN: The Theatre of Revolt (Atlantic Monthly Press)
ELEANOR CLARK: Oysters of Locmariaquer (Pantheon)
EDWARD DAHLBERG: Because I Was Flesh (New Directions)
RALPH ELLISON: Shadow and Act (Random House)
HOWARD MUMFORD JONES: O Strange New World (Viking)
Judges: Frederick Burkhardt, Richard Ellmann, Francis Steegmuller

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

LOUIS FISCHER: The Life of Lenin (Harper & Row)
OSCAR LEWIS: Pedro Martinez (Random House)
R. R. PALMER: The Age of Democratic Revolution (Princeton University)
WILLIE LEE ROSE: Rehearsal for Reconstruction (Bobbs-Merrill)
ERNEST SAMUELS: Henry Adams (Belknap Press-Harvard)
RICHARD J. WHALEN: The Founding Father (New American Library)
Judges: Roger Butterfield, Alpheus Thomas Mason, Andrew Turnbull

SCIENCE, PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

REV. WALTER CISZEK: With God in Russia (McGraw-Hill)
THEODOSIUS DOBZHANSKY: Heredity and the Nature of Man (Harcourt, Brace)
DAVID HAWKINS: The Language of Nature (W. H. Freeman & Co.)
REV. JOHN COURTNEY MURRAY: The Problem of God (Yale University)
WALTER SULLIVAN: We Are Not Alone (McGraw-Hill)
NORBERT WIENER: God and Golem, inc. (M.I.T. Press)
Judges: Rev. Harold C. Gardiner, Gerard Piel, Morton White

The National Book Awards are administered by the National Book Committee, a non-profit educational association. The awards consist of five $1,000 prizes donated by the American Book Publishers Council, the American Booksellers Association, and the Book Manufacturers' Institute.

Watch for announcement of the winners — Tuesday, March 9

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

classified advertisements

LITERARY

LOCATE any book. Best prices. Write to: Aardvarks, Box 1749-N Orlando, Florida 32802.

WHERE IS THAT BOOK? Don't fret — we can get any out-of-print books you need, and fast. Our Book-Lures hunt out all wanted book lore. We conduct a free world-wide search. Send your list immediately to: BOOK-LURES, P.O. Box 442F, Caldwell, New Jersey.

WRITERS WANTED: National publisher interested in free-lance articles on business aspects of medical practice (office management, hiring an aide, patient relations, malpractice, buying a car, insurance, etc.). For further information, write Box 906, NR.

BEHIND (CHURCHILL'S) IRON CURTAIN. Communist indoctrination, ideology, education (Roucek-Lottich). $8.95 postpaid. CAXTON PRESS, Caldwell, Idaho.

INVESTMENTS

DO YOU INVEST? For prompt, courteous service and convenient midtown stock brokerage facilities, phone Leon Weil, Steiner Rouse & Company, MU 2-0300, Lexington and 41st Street, New York City, New York. Member of the New York Stock Exchange.

HOSPITALIZATION INSURANCE — Metropolitan Life's comprehensive hospitalization plan. Pays the major portion of hospital bills up to $7,500 in addition to doctor and prescription bills in and out of hospital. For information without obligation write or call: John Jos. Griffin, Special Agent, Metropolitan Life Insurance, 113-25 Queens Blvd. Forest Hills, New York.

INVEST IN GOLD COINS for buying-power security and capital appreciation. For further information, write LOS ANGELES GOLD MARKET, Box 1048-N, Arleta, California 91332

LIFE INSURANCE up to $2,500 without a Medical for residents of Metropolitan New York; ages 18 to 70. For info write to: Mr. John Beetz, 138-64 Hoover Ave., Kew Gardens 15, New York.

JOBS AND JOB HUNTERS

COLLEGE PROFESSOR, 33, widower, conservative. History, Russian language, seeks teaching position. Widely traveled and experienced. Ph.D. in History (mod. Britain). Prefer typical and traditional college, southeastern U.S. Write Box 759, NR.

RESEARCH, WRITING, TRANSLATIONS, expertly done. All topics. Reasonable. Professional author. Write Box 173, NR.

ASSOCIATE HEADMASTER WANTED. Boys' private school. Exceptional opportunity. $10,000 investment. Box 787, Clearwater, Florida.

PUBLIC COMMUNICATIONS DIRECTOR— expert in communications "know why," as well as "know how." Top flight experience as marketing-oriented public communications specialist. Thoroughly familiar with the conception, planning and implementation of varied public relations programs on a local, national or international basis. Served corporations, governments, trade associations, publications, U.S. Air Force, political candidates and personalities. Experience includes Washington legislative liaison. Complete newspaper background. Former nationally syndicated columnist. Excellent knowledge of the broadcasing industry, both as a reporter and radio-TV commentator. Additional background plus references on request. Write Box 334, NR.

NEEDED AD AGENCY COPYWRITER with agency experience and passion to write against Communism. Send resume and letter to P.O. Box 67, Palos Verdes Estates, California.

CONSERVATIVE ORGANIZATION SEEKING executive director; metropolitan New York Area. Submit resume and salary required to Box 1010, NR.

REAL ESTATE

SOUTHBURY, CONN: Via excellent roads (New York 1½ hours) you will come to this picture-book 1690 colonial home. Living room, study, dining room (each with fireplace), 3 bedrooms, 2 baths, wonderful kitchen, best utilities. Studio-barn, 2 car garage, new filtered pool just a step off the terrace. Lovely trees and landscaping, 5 acres. Privacy and pleasure for $40,000. For details and/or appointment. Write or Call, MARCIA L. BURNHAM, Kent, Conn. 203 WA 7-3117 or in New York 212 YU 8-0196.

ALL TYPE HOMES . . . ranging in price, acreage, size. Write your requirements. Excellent time to look or buy. Mabel Billups, Broker, Mathews, Va.

FORT LAUDERDALE, FLORIDA — 103 Isle of Venice 6 units elegantly furnished — waterfront — private dock — $69,500.00 — owner — John Sovis, 1159 Huntington Drive, South Pasadena, Calif.

OUR BEST BUY. 200 year Colonial situated in Salisbury Village. Original fireplaces, 3 bedrooms, sewing room, 2 baths, wide-board floors. Mint condition. Taxes $265, annual. Price $34,100. FRANK X. COLE, Realtor, Cornwall Bridge, Conn. 203 OR 2-6606 or EN 4-5455.

FOR SALE: Five year, 18th century style Colonial, stream and pond, 3 acres on quiet village road. Panelled library, cathedral ceiling, McIntire fireplace. Dinette and dining room, morning sun kitchen, ½ bath, parlor w/fp. Second floor, 3 bedrooms, 2 baths. 7 minutes stroll to RR, 65 minutes to city. Beaches 7 minutes. Trees and birds abound. Write owner, Box 262, Mill Neck, L.I.

MISCELLANEOUS

"ONE NATION UNDER GOD" bumper stickers. The inscription lettered on a striking illustration of a breeze-whipped pennant in red, white and blue. 2 for $1.00. Bulk rates on request. Studio 71, 645 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022.

KNOW ANYONE who might be interested in subscribing to National Review? Send us his name and complete address. NR is trying to build up its prospect list. Any likely names—of friends, co-workers, local leaders, etc.—that you can send us will be greatly appreciated. Thank you! Send list to: Ed Capano, List Manager, National Review, 150 E. 35th St., N.Y. 16, N.Y.

SLEEP-LEARNING . . . Hypnotism! Strange catalog FREE. Autosuggestion, Box 24-NL, Olympia, Washington.

WE KNOW YOU LOVE YOUR COUNTRY, but are you as effective as you would like to be in your own efforts to preserve American liberty and independence? A two-week summer course in the American philosophy of liberty is available to a limited number of persons who love freedom. Enrollment applications are now being accepted. Write for free information: THE FREEDOM SCHOOL, Box 165, Colorado Springs, Colo.

DO YOU HAVE ANY OLD PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN BUTTONS? (All Parties). New Collector. Need Almost anything you have. Write: Tom Stagg, 406 Petroleum Tower, Shreveport, La.

YOUR HANDWRITING REVEALS character, hidden talents, potential, flaws, your health, personality. Send three pages, $4.00 for astonishing professional evaluation. GRAPH-LAB, Box 12-E, Olympia, Wash.

SAVE $1.00 ON A BRILLIANT BOOK Only a few hundred copies left of the original hardcover edition of William F. Buckley's **Rumbles Left and Right** — a swashbuckling tour de force, written in the inimitable Buckley style. Selling everywhere for $4.95, you can get it now for only $3.95, postpaid. Hurry! Write today to: National Review, Dept. RLR, 150 East 35 St., NY 16, NY.

National Review Accepts . . .

classified advertisements for personal services, items wanted or for sale, jobs sought or available, houses or apartments for sale or rent, and miscellaneous subjects of a comparable nature. National Review does not accept political advertisements of any kind, or advertisements which are solicitations for funds or subscriptions. National Review reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason. National Review's Classified space is limited to one page. Since the page is filled, the Classified Department will in general assign priorities to advertisers in order of their acceptance, while at the same time striving to give our readers a reasonably balanced page of available products and services. Rates per insertion: 40¢ per word, minimum 10 words, plus $1.20 for box number. Text accompanied by full payment must be received 25 days before publication date. Responses to box numbers will be forwarded. Address: Classified Department, National Review, 150 East 35th Street, New York 16, New York.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TO THE EDITOR

(Continued from p. 132)

der if IQ has anything at *all* to do with wisdom.

HERMAN STOWELL KING
Newport News, Va.

Mahler

I enjoyed reading Ralph de Toledano's article about Gustav Mahler [Jan. 26]. However, he is quite wrong about the *First Symphony* being the only work recorded during the 1930s. Several lieder were recorded, as well as the complete *Kindertotenlieder* (with Heinrich Rehkemper), and the famous *Das Lied von der Erde* (with Charles Kullman and Kerstin Thorberg). The recorded symphonies were the *First* (with Mitropoulos), the *Second* (with Ormandy) and the *Ninth* (with Bruno Walter). In addition, the third movement of the *Fifth Symphony* was recorded by Walter and Mengelberg.

New York, N.Y. JOHN ZUCKER

Danish Precedent

Re the editorial, "Should We Bomb Red China's Bomb?" [Jan. 12], the following historical episode may be of interest:

In December 1800, Denmark joined Russia, Sweden and Prussia in declaring the armed neutrality of the Northern Powers in the French Revolutionary Wars, but she announced that she would not comply with the British rules on neutral navigation. England therefore considered the Danish fleet a threat to her security and sent a fleet into the Baltic. On April 2, 1801, the British fleet under Admiral Nelson, without declaring war on Denmark, attacked and destroyed the Danish fleet at the road-

SOLUTION TO LAST ISSUE'S TRANS-O-GRAM (February 9)

Felix Morley

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES

Since the President is the official head of the party in power, and is also the official ultimately responsible to the sovereign people in the field of foreign policy, the opposition cannot indorse "bipartisanism" in this field without betraying its vital political duty.

THE

university

The University Bookman is a quarterly edited by Russell Kirk. Each issue is devoted to the restoration and improvement of the standards of higher education in America. Most of the articles for this quarterly concentrate on two topics: the reviewing of university and college textbooks; and the sensible criticism of educational theory and practice today. Every **National Review** subscriber gets **The University Bookman** free. Others may subscribe at $2.00 a year. Subscriptions and editorial correspondence should be sent to:

bookman

The University Bookman, P. O. Box 3070, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.

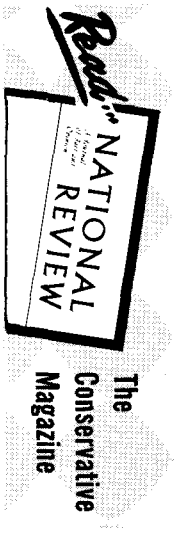
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Now Available

NATIONAL REVIEW
Bumper Strips

Display them everywhere! They'll stick anywhere! — on cars, trees, telephone poles, train stations, etc. Put your order in *now* at these low quantity prices:

25c each
5 for $1.00
100 for $10.00



Write today to:

National Review
Bumper Strip Dept.
150 East 35th Street
New York 16, N. Y.

BY POPULAR DEMAND!

Two *NEW REPRINTS from National Review*

①Towards a Theology of Survival

by Frederick D. Wilhelmsen

Has coexistence become the orthodoxy of the West? asks the author. Are we prepared to make peace with the barbarians?

② Intelligence or Prejudice?

by Ernest van den Haag

An eminent sociologist discusses Negro intelligence and accuses certain of his colleagues of prejudice against logic and discrimination against facts.

Of all the recent articles NR has published, these two have elicited the most response from our readers—both friend and foe. The response has been so great —from opinion makers, students, educators, and laymen—that NR has now republished them in handy reprint formats, designed for wide distribution.

Order As Many Copies As You Can Today!

—at these low quantity prices:

15c a single copy
$1.00 for 10 copies
$5.00 for 60 copies

Write to:
National Review
Dept. RR
150 E. 35 St.
New York 16, N.Y.

steads of Copenhagen, and thereby eliminated the Danish menace.

Why couldn't the free world copenhagen Red China's atomic equipment?

Mt. Rainier, Md. CHIH V. TSAO

How To

"Whither Now, GNP?" [Jan. 12] in discussing the health of our currency concludes that the time may have come for prudent citizens to protect themselves. This seems a little like telling a man standing on a scaffold with the noose around his neck he ought to see a lawyer, else he might be hanged.

How, pray tell, do prudent citizens protect themselves when the silver is being removed from their coinage and the gold is being withdrawn from support of their paper currency? I'll be hanged if I don't want to be prudent—please suggest how I might go about it!

Wellfleet, Mass. RUTH CAMPBELL

Collect your credits. Pay your debts. Buy canned goods. Save silver coins. Learn French. —ED.

YALTA

(Continued from p. 142)

and its survival to this day than dupery and betrayal. Prime Minister Churchill declared, shortly after Yalta, that "it is a mistake to look too far ahead. Only one link in the chain of destiny can be handled at a time." What a strange resignation on the part of the one Englishman who saw so clearly ahead in the thirties! And when Brigadier Maclean warned that Tito was preparing a Communist Yugoslavia, Churchill asked superciliously, "Do you intend to make Yugoslavia your home after the war?"

When is the West going to face the fact that the victims of Yalta are not the only ones paying for the shortsightedness of the "pragmatic" approach to Communism? When will the West realize that the liberty they enjoy at the price of tolerating oppression at their doorsteps is at least precarious?

The freedom of nations and the dignity of man do not know any statute of limitations. The West cannot and will not be relieved of its responsibility by talking itself into believing that the issue no longer exists.

Speaking Up . . .

What do you know about the Congo; about Algeria or South Africa? Dr. Thomas Molnar, professor of French Literature and Philosophy, has recently returned from an extensive trip to Africa. And he will be available for speaking engagements over the next few months to discuss his travels and forthcoming book, *AFRICA: A Political Travelogue.*

Your university or club might also write now for openings in the Winter and Spring schedules of our other speakers: William A. Rusher, publisher of National Review; Frank S. Meyer, senior editor of National Review; Ralph de Toledano, syndicated columnist and author of *The Winning Side:* L. Brent Bozell, attorney, lecturer and author of a forthcoming historical study of the Supreme Court; Russell Kirk, professor of politics, syndicated columnist and author of *Fulminations of a Nocturnal Bookman;* Dr. Anthony T. Bouscaren, writer and professor; Ernest van den Haag, noted social scientist; plus Erik Ritter von Kuehnelt-Leddihn and William F. Rickenbacker.

CATHERINE BABCOCK, INC.
528 Southside Road
Virginia Beach, Virginia

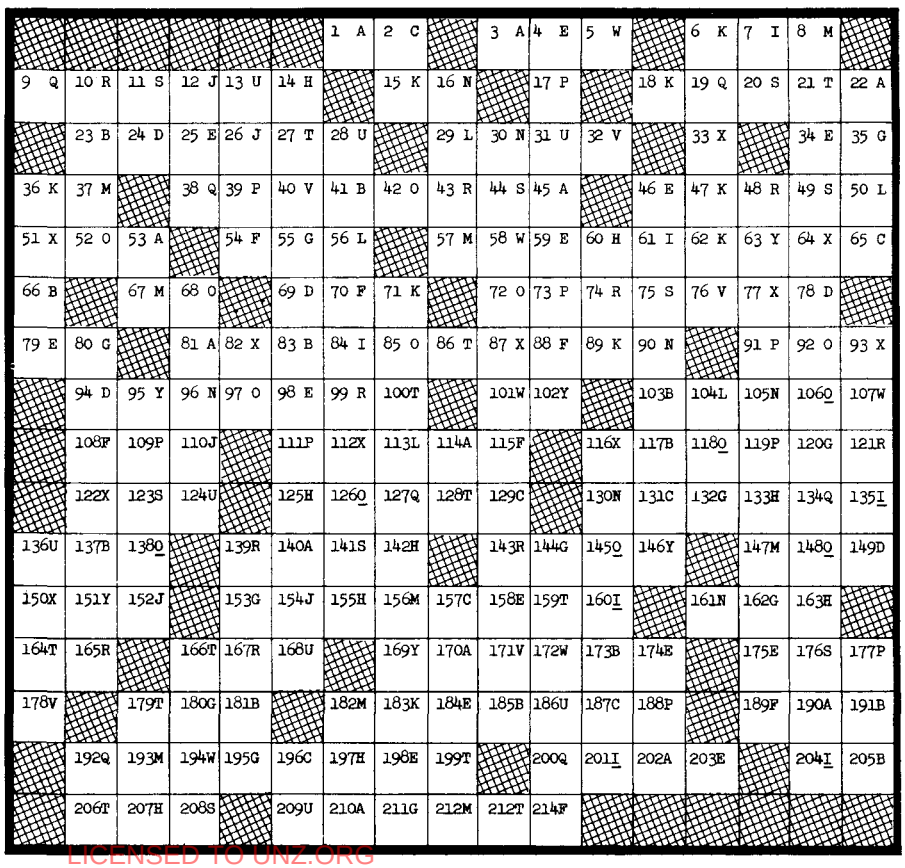
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRANS-O-GRAM

by Svend Petersen

DEFINITIONS	WORDS
A. Santa Claus' headquarters (3 wds.)	3 170 114 140 1 22 45 53 210 190 202 81
B. Freedom from control by others	41 83 185 66 103 117 137 191 173 205 23 181
C. Magazine that was named for coin that bought it	65 196 131 187 129 2 157
D. Game of chance played with numbered cards	149 94 69 78 24
E. Edible containers for popular frozen food (3 wds.)	158 46 184 175 174 198 4 34 98 79 25 203 59
F. Across the length or course of	189 88 70 54 108 214 115
G. Inauguration Day before 1934 (2 wds.)	195 55 211 153 144 80 35 162 120 132 180
H. Workmen adversely affected by tipping nuisance (2 wds.)	207 133 163 142 125 14 60 155 197
I. President who died August 2d, although it was the 3d in most of U. S.	7 201 61 84 204 135 160
J. Truly great Massachusetts family	12 110 154 152 26
K. First President to take oath January 20th	18 15 47 36 71 62 89 183 6
L. Retinues	50 104 113 29 56
M. People who observe country's customs by introducing from without	67 212 182 57 156 37 8 193 147
N. Pretentious display (hyph.)	90 30 130 105 161 16 96
O. Favorite indoor sport in nation's capital (hyph.)	92 118 126 85 72 106 52 145 148 42 97 68 138
P. Slow down a bit (3 wds.)	109 73 39 177 119 91 17 188 111
Q. Meanings	134 200 192 19 9 127 38
R. Together with word S, this was supposed to double U. S. vote	165 43 48 10 139 99 121 74 143 167
S. See word R	176 20 208 44 75 11 141 123 49
T. Unscramble TUNE DISTASTE (2 wds.)	27 159 164 166 128 86 100 179 21 206 213 199
U. Assassinated President	186 31 13 209 136 168 28 124
V. Peremptory	76 32 171 178 40
W. Automatons	107 194 58 101 172 5
X. Unscramble BARBARA A CAD	122 64 93 33 77 51 150 82 116 112 87
Y. Shutdown	169 63 146 151 95 102

See page 165 for solution of last issue's Trans-O-Gram.



DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black lines indicating the end of a word); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of Webster's New International Dictionary, Second Edition.

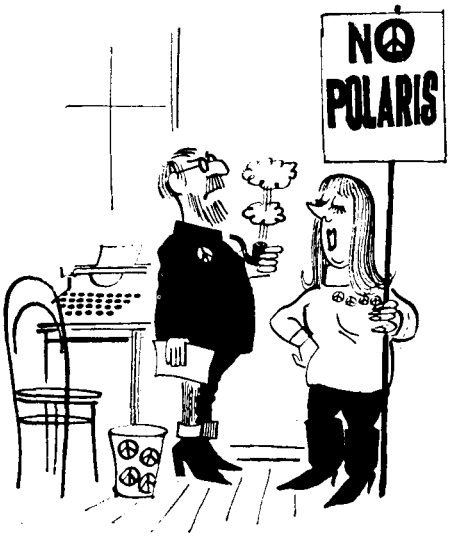
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For The Record

State Department buzz has Maxwell Taylor asking to be relieved in South Vietnam, with Henry Cabot Lodge being approached to succeed his successor. If Lodge returns, Administration attempts to implicate Republican Party in Southeast Asian disaster may triumph. Observers see "bipartisanship" play behind President Johnson's second public mention of Eisenhower letter of Oct. 25, 1954, extending American aid to then President Diem for purposes of "developing and maintaining a strong, viable state, capable of resisting attempted subversion or aggression through military means." Inability of successive Saigon regimes to fulfill Eisenhower conditions may give Johnson something to point to when time comes, give or take a coup, to press for negotiated settlement.

John Glenn, astronaut, executive and would-be Democratic politician, in a quandary. Political strings attached to posh job with soft drink firm keep him from running against home office district's new GOP congressman. Next shot at Senate seat, provided he keeps Ohio residence, would pit him against veteran Democrat Frank Lausche. Too Kennedied to be lionized by Lyndon, Glenn seeks appropriate public outlet, seized chance to head 1965 Freedom Roll Call, annual free enterprise campaign sponsored by Freedoms Foundation, Valley Forge, Pa. . . . Rather than betray technical secrets Goodyear Co. giving up plans to build plant in Rumania. . . . Operation Rathole, or, Why Comrades Weep: Soviet advisers, long conditioned to Nasser's profligacy, blew up when technically inept Egyptians burnt out one brand-new Russian-built coking furnace at Helwan in six weeks and nearly wrecked another. Soviet aid agreements now stipulate "no replacements."

Norman Thomas, socialist elder, justified his recent attendance at 80th birthday party for Alexander Trachtenberg (founder of Communist publishing house, International Publishers) by citing President Johnson's invitation to Soviet leaders to visit U.S. Publisher Trachtenberg's reception committee chaired by Angus Cameron, Knopf editor and longtime friend to Party causes. . . . Feminist British novelist Doris Lessing on Dr. Hastings Banda of Malawi: "He is supported by an Amazon army who put the fear of God, the men say, into all men, black and white." . . . Out of Italian exile to attend T. S. Eliot's funeral in England: 80-year-old American poet Ezra Pound.



Waite, London *Daily Sketch* Ben Roth Agency

"I know it's out of date but I can't spell 'Poseidon.'"

Inter-American Regional Labor Organization approved Venezuelan proposal for a labor boycott of Cuba, recommending that all affiliates "vigorously step up their campaigns against the totalitarian and brutal Castro regime." . . . Havana meanwhile supporting de Gaulle's proposed reforms of 1) world monetary systems and 2) UN—with help of Red China.

Classy reception of Queen Elizabeth and Prince Philip by Haile Selassie of Ethiopia came unstuck when enthusiastic airman, on orders from Lion of Judah, divebombed motorcade with confetti and flower petals. Spectators reported Queen thoroughly sprinkled but not amused.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

new Allen-Bradley Bulletin 700 Type N 300-volt relay

The OEM customer's dream of what a "machine tool" relay ought to be

4-Pole basic unit shown actual size

in seconds you can add...4 extra poles

...or add a delay timer

New Bulletin 700 Type N latching relays with exclusive permanent magnet latch and flexibility, too! Good for millions of operations.

Basic 2-pole latching relay

You can add 4 extra poles to make a 6-pole latching relay

You can also add a 2-pole timer

This results in a 2-pole latching relay equipped with a 2-pole timer. All contacts can easily be changed from N.O. to N.C. (or vice versa).

■ The new Type N 300-volt relay—is designed to deliver the usual measure of A-B's traditional "extra performance" . . . your assurance of millions of trouble free operations. It provides remarkable flexibility. All changes are made from the front . . . and the required panel space remains the same.

Suppose you discover the need for some additional contacts—no trick at all to add another 4-pole assembly, giving you 8 poles. This can easily be done in the field! Also, any or all poles can be changed from N. O. to N. C. (and vice versa) in a matter of seconds. The double break silver contacts of unique design assure continuity in operation—without contact maintenance.

The timer—designed to mount on top of the basic 4-pole relay—has two poles each easily convertible from N. O. to N. C. or vice versa. The time delay is adjustable from 0.2 second to 1 minute, and—also in a matter of seconds—can be changed from "on-delay" to "off-delay" or vice versa.

We've highlighted only a few of the features of the new Bulletin 700 Type N relay line. To obtain the complete story, please contact your local Allen-Bradley appointed distributor—he has the Bulletin 700 Type N relays in stock. Or, let us send you Publication 6105: Allen-Bradley Co., 1210 S. Third St., Milwaukee, Wis. 53204. In Canada: Allen-Bradley Canada Ltd., Galt, Ont.

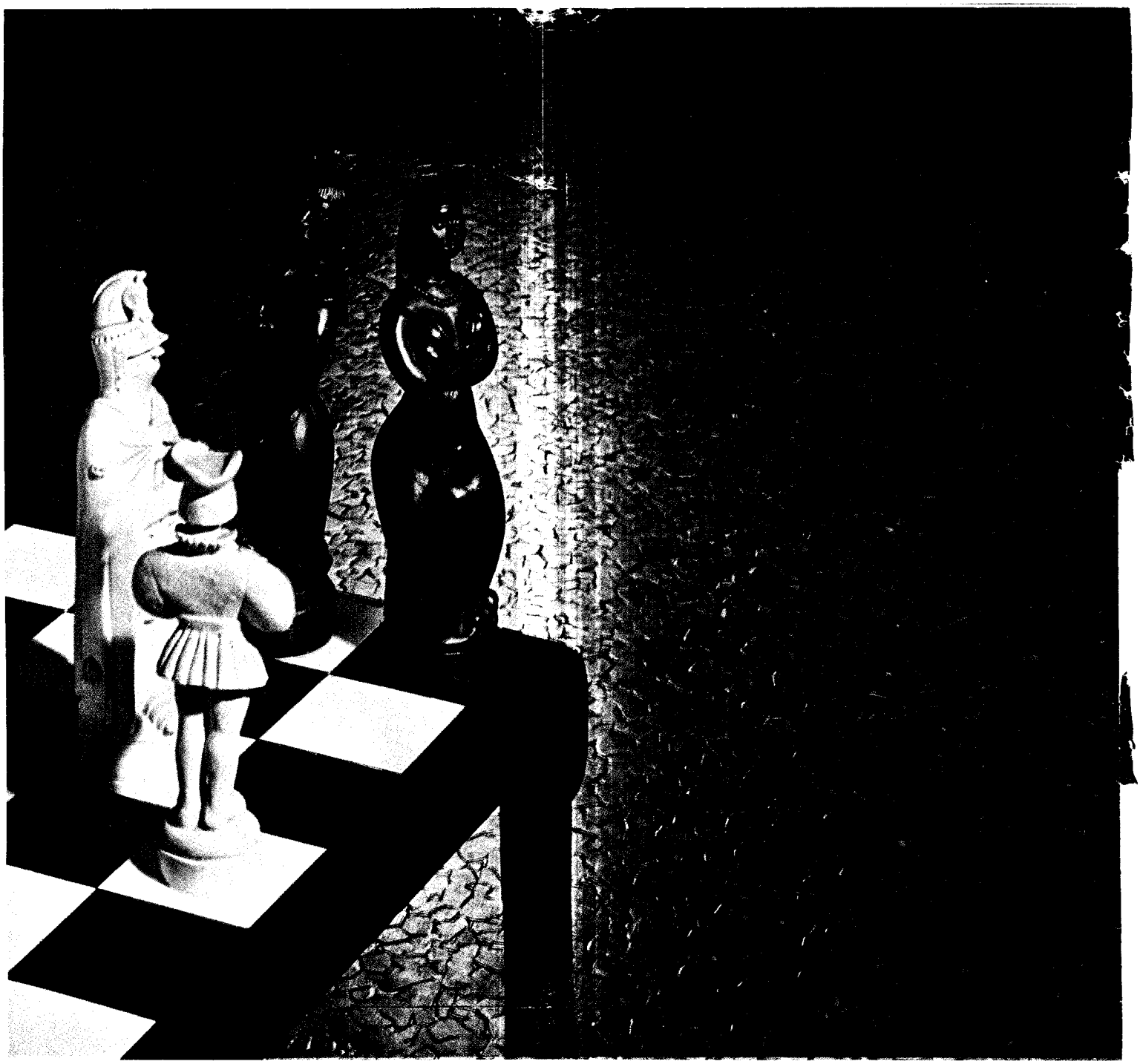
A-B QUALITY

ALLEN-BRADLEY

Member of NEMA

QUALITY MOTOR CONTROL

LICENSED TO AARL.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



"Gadzooks!" Said The Queen. "Why Can't We Have a Floor Like That?"

"I don't see what's wrong with the floor we have," said the King.

"Square," said the Queen. "Square, square, square. Montina Corlon's different. It's got pazazz."

"I don't see it," said the King.

"You're facing the wrong way. I'd use Montina right across the board, if I could. Those chipper little chips! That mellow color! That fascinating nubble!"

"Nubble! Who needs nubble?" said the King. "What is it, anyway?"

"It's a slightly pebbly surfacey thing," said the Queen. "If you'd only look around, you'd see how it catches the light."

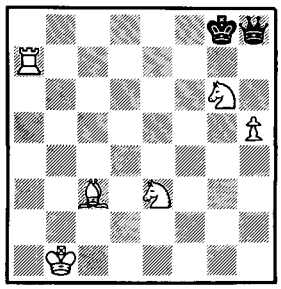
"I don't know," said the King. "There's plenty of wear left in this floor."

scotch court," replied the Queen, "when I could be queening it on Armstrong Montina Corlon?"

"Look out, they're coming back," said the King.

"Never mind *their* problem," said the Queen. "What about *mine?*"

For the answer to the Red Queen's decorating problem *and* the solution to the chess problem, write Armstrong, 6502 Weston Rd., Lancaster, Pa.
Hint: One of them is Montina Vinyl Corlon. Montina and Corlon are registered trademarks of Armstrong Cork Co. Floor design copyrighted by Armstrong. Floor shown: style 86716.



White to play and mate in two

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Vinyl floors by